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Contested Foreign Policy:
Understanding Indonesia's Regional and Global Roles

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and
International Studies

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Coventry, June 2018

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been entirely my own work and follows the guidelines provided in the Guide to Examinations for Higher Degrees by Research of the University of Warwick. The dissertation has not been submitted for a degree at another university, and any errors within are entirely my own. Some material from Chapter 4 was earlier published as an article entitled ‘Role conflict and the limits of state identity: the case of Indonesia in democracy promotion’ in *the Pacific Review* Vol. 30, No. 3, 2017.

Abstract

This thesis examines Indonesia's growing interest to play a more significant role at the regional and global levels in the post-authoritarian era particularly during the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004 – 2014) through the lens of role theory. Drawing on interviews with forty research participants, ranging from Indonesian government officials, parliamentarians, and other foreign policy actors, as well as an analysis of key documents, this thesis identifies four main national role conceptions that were conceptualised and enacted by the Yudhoyono administration. These overarching roles are a voice for developing countries, a regional leader, an advocate of democratic and human rights norms, and a bridge-builder. These four role conceptions are set against the backdrop of significant changes in the domestic political environment as well as the international system, which gave Indonesian foreign policymakers an opportunity to reconstruct Indonesia's role in the regional and global order. However, these roles are by no means stable given that they are constantly being negotiated and contested. I develop this argument in case studies of Indonesia's engagement in regional and global governance in four areas: (1) regional human rights governance; (2) global human rights governance; (3) regional trade governance; and (4) global trade governance. Through the analysis of Indonesia's engagement in governance initiatives at the regional and global levels, this thesis contributes to role theory literature by further developing the conceptualisation of domestic and international audiences. The analysis aims to unpack the state by incorporating insights from several bodies of literature ranging from ontological security to work on state transformation which arguably provides the student of role theory with a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics within the state in articulating its role conceptions. This endeavour is important in the context of Indonesia's democratic transition since the collapse of the authoritarian regime in 1998.

Abbreviations

ADB	: Asian Development Bank
AEC	: ASEAN Economic Community
AICHR	: ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
AoA	: Agreement on Agriculture
APEC	: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APSC	: ASEAN Political-Security Community
APT	: ASEAN Plus Three
ASCC	: ASEAN Socio-Culture Community
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN-BAC	: ASEAN Business Advisory Council
ASEAN-EPG	: ASEAN Eminent Person Group
Bappenas	: National Development Planning Agency
BDF	: Bali Democracy Forum
BPS	: <i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> , Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics
CMLV	: Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam
CONEFO	: Conference of New Emerging Forces
CSIS	: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta
DDA	: Doha Development Agenda
DPR	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> (Indonesian House of Representatives)
EAS	: East Asia Summit
FTA	: Free Trade Agreement
G20	: Group of Twenty
G-20 (WTO)	: Group of Twenty, a bloc of developing nations in the WTO
G-33 (WTO)	: Group of Thirty-three
G77 (UN)	: Group of Seventy-seven
ICTSD	: International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development
IGGI	: Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia
IGJ	: Institute for Global Justice
IMF	: International Monetary Fund

IR	: International Relations
ISHR	: International Service for Human Rights
MSG	: Melanesian Spearhead Group
NAM	: Non-Alignment Movement
NEFO	: New Emerging Forces
NIEO	: New International Economic Order
NTMs	: Non-Tariff Measures
OIC	: Organization for Islamic Cooperation
RCEP	: Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
RPJPN	: <i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang</i> , Long-Term National Development Plan
RPJMN	: <i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah</i> , National Medium-Term Development Plan
SDT	: Special and Differential Treatment
SME	: Small and Medium Enterprise
SP	: Strategic Products
SSC	: South-South Cooperation
SSM	: Special Safeguard Mechanism
ULMWP	: United Liberation Movement for West Papua
UPR	: Universal Periodic Review
OHCHR	: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OLDEFO	: Old Established Forces
TAC	: Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TFA	: Trade Facilitation Agreement
UN	: United Nations
UNCTAD	: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNFCCC	: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	: United Nations General Assembly
WEF	: World Economic Forum
WTO	: World Trade Organization

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Chapter 1

Introduction

International order in the 21st century is changing rapidly due to the shift in the global distribution of power. After the Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, many scholars characterised the current international order as unipolar, in which the United States was the only remaining superpower.¹ This claim might have been warranted since, in terms of hard power, the United States had an enormous margin of military and economic superiority compared to other states in the world.² However, at the dawn of the new millennium, the rise of emerging powers that are not traditionally US allies, as well as the seeming economic decline of the United States - culminating in the 2008 global economic crisis - led to a new consensus that the unipolar moment had changed to one of multipolarity. This means that the global order is not dominated by one or two great powers but shaped by many important players.³

The change in the international system is seen in the rise of non-Western middle powers that previously were exclusively viewed as regional powers. Together, with rising powers like China, emerging middle powers such as Brazil, India, Indonesia, South Africa, and Turkey now have the capability to shape global governance through their active engagement in several areas of it, such as trade, finance, the environment and human rights, among others. Unlike traditional middle powers such as Canada, Australia, and Japan, which have been US allies, the emerging middle powers might resist the current US-dominated international order. For instance, Brazil, India, Indonesia, and South Africa, despite their acceptance of US leadership in certain areas, have been reserved and expressed criticism towards the United States in others. For example, in regard to security issues, the emerging middle powers have criticised the

¹ Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs* 70, no. 1 (1990): 23–33.

² Christopher Layne, "The Waning of U.S. Hegemony—Myth or Reality?: A Review Essay," *International Security* 34, no. 1 (August 20, 2009): 147–72.

³ Randall Schweller, "Emerging Powers in an Age of Disorder," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 17, no. 3 (July 1, 2011): 285–97; Richard N. Haass, "The Age of Nonpolarity," *Foreign Affairs*, May 3, 2008; Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008); Robert H. Wade, "Emerging World Order? From Multipolarity to Multilateralism in the G20, the World Bank, and the IMF," *Politics & Society* 39, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 347–78.

US and its Western allies for their unilateral approach to dealing with threats by invading countries in the global war on terror. In terms of trade governance, the emerging powers tend to view the US as a stumbling block for successful trade liberalisation negotiations, due to its protectionist policies in the agricultural sector.⁴

The behaviour of the emerging middle powers towards the US-led existing order might be more complex since they sometimes oppose the existing liberal norms, but at other times accept them.⁵ As a result, over the past few years, a growing body of literature has appeared, dedicated to analysing the behaviour of the emerging powers in the global order.⁶ Given the importance of the emerging middle powers in the international system, the question is, why do non-Western emerging middle powers seek to play a significant role? What role do they want to fulfil in pursuing such an endeavour? To what extent are their role preferences driven by domestic or international factors? These questions have driven a new research programme in International Relations (IR) that is looking closely at emerging middle powers.

To contribute to the research agenda, this thesis examines Indonesia's growing interest in playing a more significant role, on the regional and global levels in the post-authoritarian era, particularly during the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004 – 2014). Just like other emerging middle powers, the impetus for Indonesia to play a more significant role could be a logical implication of its transition to democracy from the late 1990s onwards as well as recent economic development. Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world as well as the largest country in Southeast Asia when it comes to the size of the population and the economy. Since 2004, the Indonesian economy has shown significant development, growing by around 5% each year. Besides its economic rise, under the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Indonesia has become a model of functioning democracy in the

⁴ Matthew Eagleton-Pierce, *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵ Xiaoyu Pu, "Socialisation as a Two-Way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 341–67.

⁶ Henry R. Nau and Deepa M. Ollapally, *Worldviews of Aspiring Powers: Domestic Foreign Policy Debates in China, India, Iran, Japan, and Russia* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Mikko Huotari and Thilo Hanemann, "Emerging Powers and Change in the Global Financial Order," *Global Policy* 5, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 298–310; Matthew D. Stephen, "Rising Powers, Global Capitalism and Liberal Global Governance: A Historical Materialist Account of the BRICs Challenge," *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 912–38.

Islamic world and developing countries. These achievements have provided conditions for Indonesia to enhance its international status.

Indeed, during Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia sought to strengthen its international status through greater involvement by proposing reform and suggesting new initiatives in regional and global governance. Under his leadership, Indonesia hosted several high-profile international summits such as the thirteenth session of the Conference of the Parties (COP-13) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2007, and the ninth World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference in 2013. By hosting these international summits Indonesia was, to some extent, able to enhance its international standing and set the agenda. This is shown by a growing expectation from the international community, particularly the Western powers, that Indonesia will have a more significant role in many global issues such as development, security, and human rights. In the same period, Indonesia also hosted the Asian-African Conference Commemoration in 2005 and 2015, where it sought to play a leading role among developing countries by reviving the South-South Cooperation (SSC) through the Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership agenda.

The foreign policy agenda under Yudhoyono aimed for Indonesia to have a greater role in the global order, which is puzzling. First, unlike other new emerging powers such as India, Brazil, and South Africa, in which the domestic political actors encourage the foreign policy actors to play a greater role in the global order, Indonesia does not have the same domestic pressure to have a greater role at the global level. In fact, the domestic audiences emphasise the importance of Indonesia solving its own domestic problems rather than investing in an enlarged role at the international level. Second, for almost thirty-two years in the Suharto authoritarian era, Indonesia had an institutionalised foreign policy that emphasised the regional level as its priority. The above discussion raises the question of the motivation behind Indonesia's choice to become a regional and global player. What role does Indonesia take at the regional and global level in order to fulfil its aspiration to become an emerging middle power? How can we explain Indonesia's inconsistent and contradictory roles at regional and global levels? These questions outline the initial puzzle that drives this thesis.

Indonesia's inclination to become a global player shows an ambition to assert its status as an emerging middle power. While in terms of its material capability Indonesia can

be categorised as a middle power, until recently the country's foreign policy circles rarely used this concept in the political discourse around Indonesia's greater aspiration for engagement in the global order. The Indonesian foreign policy circles preferred to perceive Indonesia as 'a regional power with global interests and concerns'.⁷ This was due to the perception that defining Indonesia as a middle power would be patronising, and would reduce its position to merely a medium-sized power.⁸ Only during the second term of Yudhoyono's presidency (2009-2014), did Indonesian foreign policymakers accept the term middle power as a status that Indonesia should pursue. It was under Joko Widodo's Presidency (2014-2019) that the notion became incorporated into the official mid-term development plan 2015-2019 and became widely used among Indonesian policymakers.⁹ Thus, due to its material capability as well as how policymakers see their systemic position, much of the more recent literature by Indonesian authors has firmly established that Indonesia should be categorised as a middle power.¹⁰

Given its size, strategic location and economic potential, as well as its success in the country's designation as an emerging democratic middle power, there has been increased desire among scholars to understand the nature of Indonesian foreign policy.¹¹ The extent to which Indonesia can seek a leadership role at the global level

⁷ R.M. Marty M. Natalegawa, "Annual Press Statement Minister for Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia" (Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, January 7, 2014), <https://www.kemlu.go.id/Documents/PPTM%202014/Annual%20Press%20Statement%20Minister%20for%20Foreign%20Affairs.pdf>.

⁸ Author's personal interview with senior official from Agency for Policy Review and Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 12 July 2015.

⁹ National Development Planning Agency, "Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional 2015-2019" (National Development Planning Agency, January 5, 2015), <https://www.bappenas.go.id/index.php?cID=5009>.

¹⁰ Yulius P. Hermawan and Ahmad D. Habir, "Indonesia and International Institutions: Treading New Territory," in *Indonesia's Ascent*, ed. Christopher B. Roberts, Ahmad D. Habir, and Leonard C. Sebastian, Critical Studies of the Asia Pacific Series (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 177–94; Moch Faisal Karim, "Middle Power, Status-Seeking and Role Conceptions: The Cases of Indonesia and South Korea," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 0, no. 0 (March 13, 2018): 1–21; Mohamad Rosyidin, "Foreign Policy in Changing Global Politics: Indonesia's Foreign Policy and the Quest for Major Power Status in the Asian Century," *South East Asia Research* 25, no. 2 (June 1, 2017): 175–91; Awidya Santikajaya, "Walking the Middle Path: The Characteristics of Indonesia's Rise," *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 71, no. 4 (December 1, 2016): 563–86; Evan A. Laksmiana, "Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 33, no. 2 (September 15, 2011): 157–82.

¹¹ See Anthony Reid, ed., *Indonesia Rising: The Repositioning of Asia's Third Giant* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012); Roberts, Habir, and Sebastian, *Indonesia's Ascent*.

remains inconclusive; some believe that Indonesia has already played a more significant role,¹² while others are not convinced.¹³

Furthermore, it is intriguing to study Indonesia as an emerging middle power because it can shed light on some theoretical debates in IR; particularly the impact of domestic changes on state behaviour in international politics. The democratisation in the post-authoritarian era (1999-present) has changed Indonesia's normative preferences towards democratic values, as I will discuss in more detail below.¹⁴ It has also internally transformed the Indonesian state, fragmenting it, with the proliferation of multiple state agencies, and decentralising it with the devolution of many authorities to sub-national governments which reduce the power of central government.¹⁵ Even though the protectionist economic policies of the Sukarno and early Suharto eras are still prevalent, the impetus for development coupled with the pressure from transnational capitalist interests have pushed the central government in the post-authoritarian era to adopt a neoliberal agenda, in order to tap into the opportunities of an interconnected and market-driven economy.¹⁶

Drawing upon the case of Indonesia, this thesis argues that analysing emerging middle power behaviour require us to combine both agency and structure to provide more nuanced understanding of them. This means that there is a need for an alternative framework, one that goes beyond the conventional approaches to emerging middle powers, which focus on one of the other as I will detail below. To do so, instead of approaching the emerging middle power concept through the lens of the mainstream

¹² Amitav Acharya, *Indonesia Matters: Asia's Emerging Democratic Power* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2014); Evan A. Laksmana, "Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 33, no. 2 (September 15, 2011): 157–82.

¹³ Greg Fealy and Hugh White, "Indonesia's 'Great Power' Aspirations: A Critical View," *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 92–100, <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.122>; Dave McRae, "More Talk Than Walk: Indonesia as a Foreign Policy Actor" (Sydney: Lowy Institute, February 27, 2014), <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/more-talk-walk-indonesia-foreign-policy-actor>.

¹⁴ Rizal Sukma, "Indonesia Finds a New Voice," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (October 14, 2011): 110–23.

¹⁵ Moch Faisal Karim, "Institutional Dynamics of Regulatory Actors in the Recruitment of Migrant Workers," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 45, no. 4–5 (January 1, 2017): 440–64. see also Adam D. Tyson, *Decentralization and Adat Revivalism in Indonesia: The Politics of Becoming Indigenous* (Routledge, 2010).

¹⁶ Richard Robison and Andrew Rosser, "Contesting Reform: Indonesia's New Order and the IMF," *World Development* 26, no. 8 (August 1, 1998): 1593–1609.

grand theories of IR, this thesis seeks to apply a mid-range theorisation that allows us to unpack micro-process dynamics within the state.¹⁷ In this endeavour, this thesis suggests that role theory can provide a better understanding of middle power behaviour that captures both the structural and agential level of analysis, as well as addressing material and ideational factors that motivate and constrain states' behaviour. In our case, role theory can help us in understanding how Indonesia's internal state transformation, as well as the international expectations towards it, affects its foreign and trade policies at regional and global levels. Arguably, role theory enables us to analyse these two inter-related factors into one single coherent framework.

The next section will substantiate and justify why this thesis focuses on bridging the gap in the agent-structure debate, in order to understand the complexity of emerging middle powers' behaviour at regional and global levels. But before that, we need to conceptualise the difference between traditional and emerging middle powers, to demonstrate how the classification applies to Indonesia.

Indonesia: an emerging middle power

Recently, literature on emerging middle powers has attracted more attention by scholars of International Relations who have the aim of understanding the behaviour of emerging middle powers in the international system.¹⁸ A middle power state is generally defined as one that is "neither great nor small in terms of their power, capacity and influence and exhibits the capability to create cohesion and obstruction

¹⁷ Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark? Constructivism and European Integration," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 4 (January 1, 1999): 669–81; Juliet Kaarbo, "A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective on the Domestic Politics Turn in IR Theory," *International Studies Review* 17, no. 2 (June 1, 2015): 189–216, <https://doi.org/10.1111/misr.12213>; Alastair Iain Johnston, "Conclusions and Extensions: Toward Mid-Range Theorizing and Beyond Europe," *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (October 2005): 1013–44.

¹⁸ Janis van der Westhuizen, "Class Compromise as Middle Power Activism? Comparing Brazil and South Africa," *Government and Opposition* 48, no. 1 (January 2013): 80–100; Ralf Emmers and Sarah Teo, "Regional Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia-Pacific," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 15, no. 2 (May 1, 2015): 185–216; Bruce Gilley and Andrew O'Neil, eds., *Middle Powers and the Rise of China* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

toward global order and governance”.¹⁹ However, this conceptualisation of middle powers has been criticised for being too biased towards traditional middle powers, such as Australia, Canada, and the Nordic countries. The theorisation of the concept mainly comes from the analysis of industrialised Western and high-income countries, which predominantly prefer liberal values. Given this limitation, many scholars tend to criticise middle power theory, given that current emerging middle powers such as Turkey, South Africa, and Indonesia do not share traits with those traditional middle powers.²⁰

There are fundamental differences between countries that can be categorised as traditional middle powers and those that are emerging middle powers. First, while the traditional middle powers are most likely Western, liberal, industrialised countries, the emerging middle powers are not. Given that many newly emerging middle powers are non-Western countries, there is a chance that they will have a different approach towards the United States as a great power, at least in some areas of the international order.²¹

Indeed, the traditional middle powers also experience domestic constraints with regard to their global ambitions, including those posed by a democratic polity on the foreign policy capacity of the executive. In general, traditional middle powers support today’s global institutions, such as the international trade regime that evolved into the WTO, or human rights regime that evolved into the UN Human Rights Council. This is precisely because today’s global institutions are built on a vision of the liberal international order.²² Besides, as core countries in the global system, the traditional middle powers are also heavily involved in the making of US-led global governance, including its inception after the end of World War II. Thus, the traditional middle

¹⁹ Eduard Jordaan, “The Concept of a Middle Power in International Relations: Distinguishing between Emerging and Traditional Middle Powers,” *Politikon* 30, no. 1 (May 1, 2003): 165.

²⁰ Jordaan, “The Concept of a Middle Power in International Relations”; Allan Patience, “Imagining Middle Powers,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 2 (March 15, 2014): 210–24.

²¹ Miles Kahler, “Rising Powers and Global Governance: Negotiating Change in a Resilient Status Quo,” *International Affairs* 89, no. 3 (May 1, 2013): 711–29; Oliver Stuenkel, “The Financial Crisis, Contested Legitimacy, and the Genesis of Intra-BRICS Cooperation,” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 19, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 611–30.

²² G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*, STU-Student edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

powers have interests, ideas, and identities that are compatible with the current global order.

By contrast, the current emerging middle powers did not collaborate equally in creating the international order.²³ Nevertheless, accepting the US-led global institutions without reservation was not the only option for countries outside of the western world. During the Cold War, there were some initiatives by non-Western middle powers to challenge the US-led international order by creating an alternative international forum, such as the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), or to incorporate a new agenda within the existing UN framework, such as the New International Economic Order (NIEO).²⁴ Due to still being preoccupied with internal political and economic issues, as well as the bipolar nature of the international system, these non-Western middle powers posed no real challenge to the US-led global order.

In the case of Indonesia, its strengthening bilateral relations with the US and its further acceptance of democratic values were not reflected in its support towards the US-led global order. Thus, while Indonesia benefitted from the US-led liberal order, it also criticised the lack of reform within US-led global governance. During the Yudhoyono presidency, which will be discussed in more detail later on, Indonesia consistently voiced the need for reform of the UN. Notably, Indonesia joined the call for reform of the permanent membership of the Security Council, to represent the distribution of power in the contemporary world.²⁵ Indonesia's criticism towards the UN was also voiced in the late 1990s when it was still under an authoritarian regime. During that time, the criticism towards the UN was driven by the regime's frustration towards the international community's meddling in Indonesia's internal issues. Under the Yudhoyono presidency, rather than focusing on its criticism of the dominance of the Western powers in the global order, Indonesia's push to reform US-led global governance was framed as efforts to democratise global governance. This shows that

²³ See however, Helleiner for discussion of the contribution of developing countries in the establishment of the Bretton Woods system' or similar US-led global governance, Eric Helleiner, "Southern Pioneers of International Development," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 20, no. 3 (July 1, 2014): 375–88.

²⁴ Robert W. Cox, "Ideologies and the New International Economic Order: Reflections on Some Recent Literature," *International Organization* 33, no. 2 (1979): 257–302.

²⁵ Marty Natalegawa, "Indonesia: General Assembly of the United Nations General Debate of the 72nd Session" (General Assembly of the United Nations, September 28, 2010), <https://gadebate.un.org/en/65/indonesia>.

emerging middle powers are more likely to be a force of reformism, rather than maintaining the status quo in the current international order.

Secondly, there are also differences in the preference for regionalism among traditional and emerging middle powers. While traditional middle powers might not necessarily be regional powers, and might not have a regional orientation, the emerging middle powers are first and foremost regional powers. As argued by Andrew Hurrell, the historical path of the current emerging middle power shows that emerging powers have a strong regional focus rather than a global focus.²⁶ While traditional middle powers were never regional powers, the emerging middle powers started their global reputation through leadership at the regional level. Hence, emerging middle powers make their regional issues and stability top priority. This means that the emerging middle powers tend not to compromise their leadership at the regional level in order to achieve more at the international level.²⁷ This is true in the case of Indonesia as an emerging middle power. Indonesia, first and foremost, claimed to be and was accepted as a regional power within Southeast Asia long before it self-identified as a middle power. Moreover, its strength and international expectations to become a middle power are based on its role as a regional leader in Southeast Asia.

Thirdly, while the traditional middle powers tend to have stable domestic orders that embrace democratic and liberal values, the emerging middle powers are most likely to be newly democratised states, in which those values are not fully institutionalised. As a result, the traditional middle powers tend to play a greater role in areas such as human rights.²⁸ At the same time, despite undergoing the process of democratisation, there might be reluctance and resistance from the emerging middle powers to embrace the ideas and agendas of liberal norms at the global level. This could be the result of different interpretations of democracy and liberal values between emerging middle

²⁶ Andrew Hurrell, "Regional Powers and the Global System from a Historical Perspective," in *Regional Leadership in the Global System: Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers*, ed. Daniel Fflemes (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013).

²⁷ Andrés Malamud, "A Leader Without Followers? The Growing Divergence Between the Regional and Global Performance of Brazilian Foreign Policy," *Latin American Politics and Society* 53, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 1–24; Maxi Schoeman, "South Africa as an Emerging Middle Power," *African Security Review* 9, no. 3 (January 1, 2000): 47–58.

²⁸ Sonia Cardenas, "Transgovernmental Activism: Canada's Role in Promoting National Human Rights Commissions," *Human Rights Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (August 5, 2003): 775–90; Alison Brysk, *Global Good Samaritans: Human Rights as Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

powers and their Western middle power counterparts. Therefore, emerging middle powers like Indonesia might not have the strong inclination to a liberal approach due to norms that might not be compatible with their society.²⁹

Fourth, while traditional middle powers come exclusively from the developed world, emerging middle powers tend to be developing countries. The aggregate economic force of emerging middle powers might be huge. However, they are still facing issues of extreme poverty as well as inequality within their territories.³⁰ In the case of Indonesia, it continues to build on solid economic growth, as suggested by a variety of economic indicators. The World Bank even classifies Indonesia in the top ten countries in the world economy based on purchasing power parity (PPP). Stable economic growth over the past ten years has ranked Indonesia among the top 20 of the world's largest economies, hence its membership of the G20. During Yudhoyono's administration, the average growth in Indonesia's economic period 2009-13 reached 5.9%, third in the G20, only after China and India. The Indonesian economy grew by 6.1% in 2010, 6.5% in 2011, 6.23% in 2012, and 5.78% in 2013.

However, the economic growth in Indonesia has been very uneven and has not translated into a general improvement in welfare for the majority of its people. This is reflected in the increasingly worrisome Indonesian Gini ratio of 0.41, with the Indonesian poor that live on less than 2 USD per day accounting for 36.5% of the population.³¹ Despite being a member of the G20 and classified as a newly industrialised country with the seventh largest economy in terms of GDP (PPP), Indonesia still faces many domestic issues that constrain its power projection. Thus, unlike traditional middle powers that might not have such domestic constraints, emerging middle powers might have to deal with their domestic audience before embarking on a more active foreign policy.

²⁹ Santikajaya, "Walking the Middle Path"; Rizal Sukma, "Indonesian Politics in 2009: Defective Elections, Resilient Democracy," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 45, no. 3 (December 1, 2009): 317–36.

³⁰ Shaohua Chen and Martin Ravallion, "The Developing World Is Poorer than We Thought, But No Less Successful in the Fight Against Poverty," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125, no. 4 (November 1, 2010): 1577–1625.

³¹ the World Bank, "Indonesia's Rising Divide" (Jakarta: the World Bank, March 2016), <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/16261460705088179/Indonesias-Rising-Divide-English.pdf>.

Table 1.1 Differences between traditional and emerging middle powers

Characteristics	Traditional Middle Power	Emerging Middle Power
Behaviour towards the US	Bandwagon with the US-led international order	Reformist towards the international order
Nature of the state	Mostly Western Countries	Mostly non-Western Countries
Economic development	Highly developed	Emerging, with extreme poverty and inequality
Nature of democracy	Liberal democracy	Not necessarily liberal democracy

Source: Compiled by author

A mid-range theory to understand emerging middle powers

Having conceptualised the difference between traditional and emerging middle powers and established Indonesia's claim to emerging middle power status, the main question that needs to be asked is, what motivates emerging middle powers to play a greater role in the regional and global order? There are several mainstream theoretical approaches that seek to provide an explanation. The first two widely used in International Relations theory, structural realism and liberal institutionalism, might give the most straightforward answer regarding the motivation of emerging middle powers to play a greater role in the US-led global order.³² Both provide parsimonious, yet simplified answers that look at the behaviour of states, since both focus their discussions solely in terms of cooperation and conflict. For neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists, the more expansive behaviour of emerging middle powers can be explained by the structural constraints of the international system, as well as their pursuit of power for their own survival. However, they differ regarding why the

³² Indeed, other than structural realism (neorealism) and liberal institutionalism, critical/Marxist approaches are also widely used in IR theories. However, this thesis focuses more on the critiques of the former two because the majority of studies on emerging middle powers employs these approaches.

emerging middle powers behave as they do. Neorealists would argue that since states need to accumulate power for their own survival, the emerging middle powers have an incentive to attain a more dominant role in the international system.³³ Their pursuit of power would create the rivalry of power that leads to destabilization of the international order.³⁴

Despite their incentive to attain a more dominant role, neorealists also argue that emerging powers are not solely destabilising actors in the international system. In regard to pursuing power for their own survival, neorealists differentiate the emerging powers into two categories of states based on their intentions. The first category is the status quo states, whose motivation is to bandwagon with the existing great powers to benefit from the existing order. The second category is revisionist states, whose motivation is to change the existing order.³⁵ However, given that the US enjoys greater power in the realm of military security, the cost of challenging that supremacy might be greater than the gain from accepting it.³⁶ Thus, emerging powers tend to behave as status quo states in the system that has been created and maintained by the United States.

Unlike neorealists, neoliberal institutionalists differ in their explanation of the motives of emerging middle powers to play a greater role in the international order. Neoliberal institutionalists accept that the motivation of states is heavily dependent on the pursuit of their national interests as well as their survival.³⁷ However, neoliberal institutionalists argue that states pursue absolute gains instead of relative gains and

³³ Benjamin Frankel, "Restating the Realist Case: An Introduction," *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (March 1, 1996): 9–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636419608429274>; Ken Booth and John J. Mearsheimer, "Reckless States and Realism," *International Relations* 23, no. 2 (June 1, 2009): 241–56.

³⁴ Aaron L. Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia," *International Security* 18, no. 3 (1993): 5–33.

³⁵ Schweller, "Emerging Powers in an Age of Disorder."

³⁶ Keir A. Lieber and Gerard Alexander, "Waiting for Balancing: Why the World Is Not Pushing Back," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (July 1, 2005): 109–39, <https://doi.org/10.1162/0162288054894580>.

³⁷ Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (October 1997): 513–53.

thus, despite some disagreement with the principles of the US-led liberal order, states will still accept the order.³⁸

As suggested by Ikenberry, the current international order seems to be more accommodating towards emerging powers than pre-1945, since it offers a wide array of channels in which the emerging powers might play a constructive role.³⁹ Thus, rather than creating their own global institutions or playing outside of the current institutions established by the existing great powers, the emerging powers tend to play within existing global institutions.

Other than the structure that accommodates emerging middle powers, neoliberal institutionalists also argue that their advancement, first and foremost, is due to their deeper engagement in the liberal world order sustained by the United States. Without their active engagement in the global order, the emerging middle powers would not be in a position to have a greater role in the international order.⁴⁰ As a result, for the emerging middle powers, there is a greater incentive to be more engaged in the international order, since this will further enhance their capabilities.

Due to their considerable focus on the structure of the international system and current global governance, neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists provide a similar explanation for the motivation of emerging middle powers in the global order. However, these two approaches cannot compellingly explain why in some areas of the global order emerging middle powers challenge dominant states in the existing global order, while in other areas they do not. Besides, focus on the systemic level means that the two approaches pay less attention to the dynamics within the state. These dynamics might explain the motivation behind emerging middle powers' greater involvement in the US-led global order.

³⁸ Joseph Grieco, Robert Powell, and Duncan Snidal, "The Relative-Gains Problem for International Cooperation," *The American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (1993): 727–43; Robert Powell, "Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory," *The American Political Science Review* 85, no. 4 (1991): 1303–20.

³⁹ G. John Ikenberry, "The Future of the Liberal World Order: Internationalism After America," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 3 (2011): 56–68.

⁴⁰ G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 1 (March 2009): 71–87.

The incorporation of a constructivist approach to emerging middle powers has, to some extent, enhanced our understanding of their behaviour by drawing attention to issues of agency. Constructivists see the possibility of treating ‘middle powers’ as a ‘constructed identity’. As suggested by many constructivist studies, states’ behaviour might be driven by shared ideas and identities rather than material gains.⁴¹ While the concept of state identity is not used exclusively by constructivists, it was developed by them.

The concept of state identity in International Relations has gained attention, thanks to the rise of the constructivist research programme in the 1990s. It is not surprising that the concept of state identity has become a permanent feature of the discourse. Constructivists mainly define state identity as simply the state’s perception of what role it should play and what status it should enjoy in international relations.⁴² According to constructivists, states’ interests are mainly shaped by their identities and states’ identities are subject to change. Employing this logic, the motivation of emerging middle powers to be involved in global governance is shaped by their quest for a new identity.

Several studies have tried to incorporate the constructivist approach into the study of emerging middle powers.⁴³ For instance, Neack shows how constructivism can explain middle power behaviour by investigating the extent to which the notion of middlepowermanship has been internalised by policymakers.⁴⁴ Shin further conceptualises middle power identity construction by focusing on the agential level of

⁴¹ Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change,” *International Organization* 55, no. 3 (July 2001): 553–88; Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe,” *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1999): 83–114; Kuniko Ashizawa, “When Identity Matters: State Identity, Regional Institution-Building, and Japanese Foreign Policy1,” *International Studies Review* 10, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 571–98; Yukiko Miyagi, “Foreign Policy Making Under Koizumi: Norms and Japan’s Role in the 2003 Iraq War,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5, no. 4 (October 1, 2009): 349–66.

⁴² Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁴³ Leif-Eric Easley, “Middle Power National Identity? South Korea and Vietnam in US–China Geopolitics,” *Pacific Focus* 27, no. 3 (December 1, 2012): 421–42; Soon-ok Shin, “South Korea’s Elusive Middlepowermanship: Regional or Global Player?,” *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 2 (March 14, 2016): 187–209; Sarah Teo, “Middle Power Identities of Australia and South Korea: Comparing the Kevin Rudd/Julia Gillard and Lee Myung-Bak Administrations,” *The Pacific Review* 0, no. 0 (September 6, 2017): 1–19.

⁴⁴ Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy: U.S. and Comparative Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

analysis through the notion of the framework of self-conceptualisation, self-identification and intersubjectivity.⁴⁵ Building upon Shin, Teo focuses on the conceptualisation of middle power identity through constitutive norms, social purposes, relational comparisons and cognitive models.⁴⁶

Despite it being a pervasive theoretical argument, the concept is problematic. This is because identity is something that is relatively fixed and statist. In their discussion on state identity, Katzenstein⁴⁷ and Johnston⁴⁸ argue that state identity is usually a semi-permanent feature because it is rooted in social, political, and historical beliefs. Therefore, there must be strong belief in a set of values within states that push them to change their identity. For constructivists, state identity is likely to change when old norms are abandoned, and new ones are embraced. It is assumed that certain values must exist for such a choice. Hence, a state identity is projected in parallel with the values or cultures that the society embraces.

In the case of emerging middle powers, this does not mean that middle power can be seen as a state identity, given that the claims made by political elites, by nature, are politically driven. Hence, it may not represent strong belief in a set of values in the society within states. As a result, middle power should not be seen as a state identity, as state identity is a semi-permanent feature and is rooted in social, political and historical beliefs that exist in the society.⁴⁹ Moreover, the middle power literature that mobilises the identity approach rarely clarifies the dynamic between identity and foreign policy agenda, particularly in terms of how middle power identity translates into foreign policy agenda. Hence, treating middle power as an identity would not provide a meaningful understanding of how the concept can explain the behaviour of countries that self-identify as middle powers.

⁴⁵ “South Korea’s Elusive Middlepowermanship: Regional or Global Player?,” *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 2 (March 14, 2016): 187–209.

⁴⁶ “Middle Power Identities of Australia and South Korea: Comparing the Kevin Rudd/Julia Gillard and Lee Myung-Bak Administrations,” *The Pacific Review* 0, no. 0 (September 6, 2017): 1–19.

⁴⁷ Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁴⁸ Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

⁴⁹ Katzenstein; Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Despite these caveats, the constructivist approach to middle power has provided a new direction, suggesting that middle power should not be treated as a fixed concept or categorisation; rather, it is more of a construct being pursued by policymakers. This approach might be unsettling for those scholars trying to provide a more sustainable definition of middle power.⁵⁰ With the constructivist turn, a growing number of studies have shifted their focus to unpacking the state by taking an agency-level analysis into account when analysing the activism of the middle powers.

Building on the constructivist approach in middle-power literature, I propose that role theory can be a common ground to apply mid-range theory to the study of emerging middle powers' behaviour in the international order. Role theory, arguably, could provide a more nuanced understanding.

Indeed, role theory is not new in the literature of International Relations. It has been widely used by the students of foreign policy analysis. Role theory, which was developed in other disciplines such as social psychology and sociology, was introduced by KJ Holsti in the 1970s to analyse the foreign policy behaviour of states in the international system. One of the basic concepts in role theory according to Holsti is national role conception.⁵¹ As an independent variable, the national role conception can explain the behaviour of states in the international system. As a dependent variable, national role conception is formed through dynamics within the states and the international system. National role conception can be defined as a set of norms that define the foreign policy behaviour of a government, including the attitudes, decisions, responses, functions, and commitments made by the government.⁵² Thus, national role conception refers to foreign policy-makers' perceptions of their states' position in the international system.

In the study of foreign policy, role theory has been a useful tool to explain changes in states' behaviour.⁵³ This is because role theory can provide rich conceptual tools to

⁵⁰ Andrew Carr, "Is Australia a Middle Power? A Systemic Impact Approach," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 70–84.

⁵¹ K. J. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (September 1, 1970): 233–309.

⁵² Holsti, 245.

⁵³ Michael Grossman, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy Change: The Transformation of Russian Foreign Policy in the 1990s," *International Politics* 42, no. 3 (September 1, 2005): 334–51.

describe specific foreign policy phenomena, while at the same time engaging and incorporating different levels of analysis, as well as supplementing other theoretical approaches.⁵⁴ In regard to our theoretical objective, the notion of role conception can capture the varieties of roles taken by emerging middle powers in the international system. It enables us to examine how both structure and material interests, as advocated by the neorealist and neoliberal institutionalist approach, as well as ideas and agency, as championed by the constructivist approach, motivate them to play a greater role at the regional and global levels.

The notion of role conceptions also allows us to engage with various concepts from mid-range theories to understand emerging middle power behaviour. This includes the importance of the notion of biographical narrative, as suggested by ontological security scholars such as Mitzen, Steele, Zarakol, and the notion of state transformation, as suggested by Murdoch school scholars such as Hameiri and Jones and Jayasuriya.⁵⁵

As a part of the developing world with a history of distrust towards Western powers, Indonesia tries to embrace and seemingly promote liberal norms. Indonesia is also the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, despite being situated socio-historically outside of the core of the Muslim world. This is not to mention that it is geographically situated in a region with heightened uncertainty regarding the international order, characterised by the rise of China, which has pushed Indonesia to respond strategically. These conditions have complicated how Indonesian policymakers make sense of Indonesia's position in the world. Moreover, the process of state transformation that has taken place in Indonesia, as will be discussed later, requires us to engage in theories that allow us to analyse dynamics within the state to complement more systemic approaches.

⁵⁴ Cameron G. Thies and Marijke Breuning, "Integrating Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations through Role Theory," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 1–4.

⁵⁵ Brent J. Steele, *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Ayse Zarakol, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 341–70; Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones, "Rising Powers and State Transformation: The Case of China," *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 1 (2016): 72–98; Kanishka Jayasuriya, "Regulatory Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific: Drivers, Instruments and Actors," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 3 (September 1, 2009): 335–47.

Given the discussion above, the mid-range theorisation of emerging middle power behaviour beyond the conventional framework of realism, liberalism, and constructivism would provide more theoretical insights for students of International Relations theory. However, role theory is by no means complete in its theorisation, especially in capturing both the agential and structural levels of analysis in understanding the behaviour of emerging middle powers. Thus, this thesis aims to further enhance the analytical power of role theory by drawing on insights from the experience of Indonesia in the global order specifically. Chapter 2 will expand on this brief discussion of role theory and elucidate further the core analytical concepts employed in this thesis.

The argument in brief

My first objective in this thesis is to frame the study of Indonesian foreign policy within the literature on role theory, by arguing that role theory captures the complexity of Indonesian foreign policy behaviour at both the regional and global levels.

In order to pursue its status as an emerging middle power, Indonesia has enacted several role conceptions at regional and global levels. Drawing on interviews with forty research participants, ranging from Indonesian government officials, parliamentarians, and other foreign policy actors, as well as an analysis of key documents, I have identified four overarching role conceptions that were enacted by the Yudhoyono administration: Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries; as a regional leader; as an advocate of democratic and human rights norms;⁵⁶ and as a bridge-builder. These four overarching role conceptions are set against the backdrop of significant changes in the domestic political environment as well as the international system, which gave Indonesian foreign policymakers an opportunity to reconstruct the country's role in the regional and global orders. However, these roles are by no means stable, constantly being contested and negotiated.

⁵⁶ For a matter of simplicity, throughout the text sometimes this role will be referred to as being an advocate of democracy. The justification of combining democracy and human rights will be given in the next section.

In the light of democratisation after the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998, this thesis argues that state transformation, which opens up space for state fragmentation and domestic contestation, has affected the way in which Indonesian foreign policymakers enact Indonesia's role conceptions at regional and global levels. The thesis enriches the role theory literature by contributing to a growing research agenda that tries to unpack the state in terms of the theorisation of international relations. As observed by Cantir and Kaarbo, since the incorporation of the sociological role theory in understanding states' behaviour, the literature tends to treat the state as a unified actor because the assumption creates a parsimonious understanding in applying role theory in international relations.⁵⁷ Consequently, it is also largely assumed that the domestic arena is a 'black-box', and the dynamic process within the state is ignored. At best, the literature treats domestic factors as a tool for policymakers in formulating role conceptions.

In order to understand the change and continuity of role conception, I incorporate the notion of biographical narrative, borrowed from the ontological security literature. I claim that the notion of biographical narrative can help role theorists understand the conditions that influence continuity and change of role conception, in the light of changes in state identity. I argue that roles are a constitutive part of identity formation, but they can also be an instrument to maintain a coherent biographical narrative of the state. Role conceptions, thus, are crafted and enacted to reflect the continuity of a state's biographical narrative and manifested to both international and domestic audiences. This claim will be substantiated in chapter 3 by my historical analysis of Indonesia's national role conceptions, since its independence in 1945.

The role theory literature so far has not paid enough attention to re-conceptualising the notion of *role conflict*. To further understand the notion of role conflict, this thesis unpacks the notion of international and domestic audiences. In relation to unpacking the international audience, I advance the application of role conflict by arguing that we should also consider the different levels of international audiences, namely the regional and global ones. Borrowing from the symbolic interactionist

⁵⁷ Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo, "Unpacking Ego in Role Theory: Vertical and Horizontal Role Contestation and Foreign Policy," in *Domestic Role Contestation, Foreign Policy, and International Relations*, ed. Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo (New York: Routledge, 2016).

conceptualisation of social interaction as a stage, the international system can also be seen as an arena. This allows us to see the regional and global levels as a role-playing stage with the different expectations from the audience that need to be fulfilled. I propose two types of role conflict, stemming from the difference between the regional and global levels. In relation to unpacking the domestic audience, I focus on disagreements across bureaucratic agencies, by touching upon the literature on state transformation approaches, developed, inter alia, by Hameiri and Jones.⁵⁸

Moreover, given that there is a need to reduce the likelihood of domestic role contestation, it is necessary for policymakers to legitimise role conceptions and their enactment to domestic audiences. I propose a new analytical concept to analyse how governments resolve role contestation from domestic audiences by developing the notion of *role legitimation*. Role legitimation can be defined as a social process in which policymakers aim to strategically legitimise their role conceptions towards domestic audiences with the purpose of avoiding the likelihood of contestation. This thesis puts forward two social mechanisms through which role legitimation is performed. The first mechanism is reviving the historical role that has been entrenched in a state's biographical narrative. The second one is reproducing the international expectations in the domestic political discourse. Through role legitimation, I contribute to the role theory literature by conceptualising the extent to which the roles enacted link to perceived legitimacy.

I elucidate these theoretical claims through the study of Indonesia's regional and global engagement in four case studies: first, Indonesia's role in regional human rights governance, particularly its role in the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC); the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF), as well as Indonesia's regional strategy in enhancing the democratic agenda in Myanmar; second, Indonesia's role in global human rights governance, where I focus heavily on Indonesia's role in the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council (HRC); third, Indonesia's role in regional trade governance, particularly its role in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the ongoing trade negotiation, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

⁵⁸ Hameiri and Jones.

(RCEP); and fourth, Indonesia's role in global trade governance with a focus on Indonesia's role in the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Contribution to theory building

This study is of significance for scholarship on International Relations and foreign policy analysis. Public and scholarly interest in Indonesia is likely to increase given its growing importance in the changing global order. The thesis has both conceptual and empirical objectives. Conceptually, this thesis seeks to challenge the understanding of Indonesian foreign policy by conceptualising it within the frame of a more reflective theoretically-driven mid-range tradition, outside of more mainstream IR frameworks such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism. With this intention, this thesis not only speaks to students of Indonesian foreign policy but also aims to tackle and engage on debates within the IR scholarship. Through the case of Indonesia, this thesis aims to enhance the analytical power of the role theory literature by conceptualising the notion of role conflict and role legitimization. Indonesia's growing interests beyond its region enable us to further scrutinise the relationship between role theory and international audiences, particularly the nexus of regional and global levels.

Empirically, this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive study of Indonesian foreign policy at the regional and global levels. Following the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime, Indonesian foreign policy attracted some interest from students of International Relations who aimed to analyse the effect of democratisation. Several peer-reviewed journal articles have been written on this topic. Nevertheless, many of them discuss democratisation narrowly, only in the context of parliament and non-state actors (think tanks and Non-Governmental Organisations) as well as domestic public opinion in shaping foreign policy preferences.⁵⁹ For example, the work of

⁵⁹ See the works of Dosch, Rüland, and Gindarsah for the role of parliament in the making of Indonesian foreign policy. Jörn Dosch, "The Impact of Democratization on the Making of Foreign Policy in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines," *Südostasien Aktuell : Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 25, no. 5 (2006): 42–70; Jürgen Rüland, "Deepening ASEAN Cooperation through Democratization? The Indonesian Legislature and Foreign Policymaking," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 9, no. 3 (September 1, 2009): 373–402; Iis Gindarsah, "Democracy and Foreign Policy-Making in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Iranian Nuclear Issue, 2007-08," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 34, no. 3 (December 1, 2012): 416. The work of Sukma and Khalid and Yacob tends

Wirajuda analyses the positive impact of democratisation on Indonesian foreign policy, particularly in regional cooperation in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the promotion of political values, and conflict management.⁶⁰ The study conducted by Murphy focuses on the extent to which democratisation has, in some ways, hampered Indonesia-US relations, given that it opened up a space for domestic actors to advocate policies that are antithetical to the US interests.⁶¹ These competing explanatory approaches seem to indicate conflicting positions taken by Indonesia. The approach proposed in this thesis could arguably provide a more compelling analysis in regard to understanding Indonesian foreign policy.

A recent book by Rüland entitled “*the Indonesian Way: ASEAN, Europeanization and Foreign Policy Debates in a New Democracy*” provides a systematic and comprehensive study of foreign policy in a newly democratised Indonesia.⁶² It also engages heavily in Acharya’s norm localisation theory to explain how Indonesian foreign policy enables the localisation of European norms of regional integration within ASEAN by focusing on the establishment and ratification of the ASEAN Charter. Rüland’s book has indeed provided a substantial understanding of Indonesian foreign policy in the post-authoritarian period. However, given his case study that focuses on discourse on ASEAN Charter, many important cases of Indonesian foreign policy in the post-authoritarian period are left out, particularly under the Yudhoyono administration, when Indonesia showed a great interest in playing a greater role at the global level.

Rüland’s study could be seen as a representation of a typical analysis that focuses primarily on the regional level. With the emergence of Indonesia as a global player, it

to focus on the role of non-state actors, especially transnational Islamic actors and mass media respectively, in shaping Indonesian foreign policy outcomes. See Rizal Sukma, *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Domestic Weakness and the Dilemma of Dual Identity* (London: Routledge, 2003); Khadijah Md. Khalid and Shakila Yacob, “Managing Malaysia–Indonesia Relations in the Context of Democratization: The Emergence of Non-State Actors,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (September 1, 2012): 355–87.

⁶⁰ Muhammad Wirajuda, “The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia’s Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, and Conflict Management - LSE Theses Online” (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014), <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/992/>.

⁶¹ Ann Marie Murphy, “Democratization and Indonesian Foreign Policy: Implications for the United States,” *Asia Policy* 13, no. 1 (February 3, 2012): 83–111, <https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2012.0011>.

⁶² Jürgen Rüland, *The Indonesian Way: Asean, Europeanization, and Foreign Policy Debates in a New Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

is worth examining the extent to which Indonesia has a variety of strategies for pursuing a greater role at the regional and global levels.

This thesis is not the first attempt to engage role theory to understand Indonesian foreign policy. Borchers focuses on Indonesia's role conceptions in promoting liberal values in ASEAN while Rüländ traces back changes in foreign-policy role concepts in order to understand the extent to which democratisation changed the country's established conceptions.⁶³ However, neither study seeks a sustained engagement with role theory literature, let alone uses insights from Indonesia to expand its conceptual apparatus. Instead, they merely apply the notion of role conceptions to the case of Indonesia in ASEAN. This thesis aims to further scrutinise both domestic and international audiences as important extensions of the theoretical underpinning of role theory in IR.

The case of Indonesia, which has undergone state transformation and has a growing aspiration to be a global player, provides new terrain for a contribution to enhancing the role theory theoretical approach. The case of Indonesia can certainly contribute theoretical enrichment to role theory, which usually derives its theorisation from a Weberian and Westphalian state. Moreover, the case of Indonesia can give an insight into how the nexus of regional and global levels affect the enactment of role conceptions. As a country in which the foreign policy agenda has long been confined within the region, its growing role at the global level provides us with a venue to compare Indonesia's role enactments.

Given the above discussion, investigating Indonesian foreign policy in the post-authoritarian era by situating it in the broader debate on role theory literature can be considered original research in the field of International Relations.

⁶³ Jürgen Rüländ, "Democratizing Foreign-Policy Making in Indonesia and the Democratization of ASEAN: A Role Theory Analysis," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 5, no. 1 (January 2017): 49–73, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2016.26>; Henning Borchers, "Indonesia's National Role Conceptions: Continuity Amidst Regional Change," *Victoria University of Wellington*, Master Thesis, 2013, <http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/2883>.

Research approach and empirical contribution

The theoretical goal of this research is to bridge the divide between structural-driven and agency-driven analysis in International Relations through the application of role theory. In doing so, the research utilises several methodological tools to provide rich empirical findings and insightful theory-driven analysis. In general, this thesis employs a qualitative methodology to examine the driving factors behind Indonesia's greater involvement in regional and global governance during the Yudhoyono presidency. As will be further argued in Chapter 2, role theory provides an excellent framework for capturing the structural and agential, as well as the material and ideational dimensions of Indonesia's behaviour. In this study, employing a qualitative methodology enables me to evaluate the empirical findings from fieldwork, with theoretical insights informed by role theory.

The research for this thesis utilises two qualitative methods, namely the comparative case study method, with more than two cases to examine Indonesia's role in regional and global governance, and process tracing, to investigate the causality within the case under scrutiny. As argued by Landman, there are four reasons to use a comparative case study approach, namely: contextual description, classification, hypothesis-testing and theory building, and prediction.⁶⁴ In the light of those reasons, this research utilises a multiple case studies method to generate a rich contextual description of Indonesia's greater involvement in regional and global governance. Furthermore, the research also relies on the comparative case study method since the aim is to elucidate and refine theoretical arguments derived from a variety of literature from the areas of role theory, ontological security, and state transformation. The comparative case study method also allows the researcher to have greater space for analysing specific concepts, as well as increasing the possibility of generalising the conclusion. However, I did not use a comparative case study to conduct hypothesis-testing and prediction given that since the inception of the research, I have not set up a hypothesis to be tested and have no attention to provide a future prediction. Rather, in employing the comparative case study, this research combines the use of deductive reasoning and empirical observation to discover new insights that can help to enhance this debate in the literature. Hence,

⁶⁴ Todd Landman, *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), 4.

in employing the qualitative methodology, I frame my research within an interpretive paradigm that enables me to explore reasons behind complex, interrelated, or multifaceted social processes.

In addition to using the comparative case study method, this research also employs process tracing. Process tracing, which can be considered a within-case research method, is vital in understanding the causal mechanism for each case presented in this thesis. As argued by Bennett, employing process tracing enables the researcher to examine whether the hypothesised cause and observed effect are present, as suggested by the theory.⁶⁵ Furthermore, employing process tracing can elucidate our proposed conceptualisation by providing a fine-grained narrative and analysis.⁶⁶ While the comparative case study method gives a rich description as well as a flexible space to understand which variables have a more significant impact, process tracing provides a tool to develop a new interpretation of events and phenomena in understanding the extent to which the evidence under investigation affects the outcome.⁶⁷ Employing process tracing allows me to use insights from the theoretical framework to analyse the topics, while at the same time being flexible enough to incorporate unexpected clues that might be overlooked by the theory.⁶⁸ This methodological choice fits with my theoretical endeavour which aims to incorporate several strands of the literature into a role theoretical framework.

Sources of data and data analysis

This research, which evaluates Indonesia's role conceptions, draws extensively from several qualitative methods, namely document research, elite interviews, secondary data collection, and other tertiary material, for the collection of the primary and secondary data. One should note that this thesis focuses on tracing role conceptions

⁶⁵ Andrew Bennett, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantages," in *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, ed. Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 30.

⁶⁶ James Johnson, "How Conceptual Problems Migrate: Rational Choice, Interpretation, and the Hazards of Pluralism," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5, no. 1 (2002): 230–31.

⁶⁷ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), 5.

⁶⁸ Bennett, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantages."

which refers to a set of norms that define the foreign policy behaviour of a government, including the attitudes, decisions, responses, functions, and commitments made by the government. In order to understand it, this thesis focuses on looking at how governments make sense of the world. Hence, this thesis primarily investigates official documents and interviews officials to determine Indonesia's role conceptions.

Document analysis refers to a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents to extract meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge.⁶⁹ Document analysis also fits with the research design for this thesis, which is framed within an interpretive paradigm.⁷⁰

As suggested by Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, and McDermott, there are several research procedures that can be used to attain empirical sources for research that uses sociological concepts in IR.⁷¹ They recommend the use of discourse analysis, surveys, and content analysis in this kind of research agenda. The use of discourse analysis and content analysis mobilises the official documents in the form of official reports, policies, regulations, and speeches. For this research, document analysis helps me determine the conceptualisation of Indonesia's role conceptions by relevant policymakers and agencies. Furthermore, document analysis provides background information as well as historical insights, which can help researchers determine the historical roots of the specific issues and events being investigated.⁷²

The documents consulted for this thesis include official publications, namely white papers, the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) and the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN), agreements, official reports, government regulations, speeches, minutes of meetings, and official press releases. The thesis makes use of several official documents issued by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), the Office Staff of the Presidency, the Ministry of Trade, the

⁶⁹ Tim Rapley, *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2008).

⁷⁰ Sharan B. Merriam, *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1988), 108.

⁷¹ Rawi Abdelal et al., "Identity as a Variable," *Perspectives on Politics* 4, no. 4 (December 2006): 695–711.

⁷² Glenn A. Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (August 3, 2009): 27–40.

Ministry of Industry, and the House of Representatives, Republic of Indonesia, known as *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR). Other than official documents issued by Indonesian state agencies, this thesis mobilises documents issued by regional and international organisations, such as ASEAN, the UN, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Those documents are mainly in the form of reports, press releases, news briefs, speeches, and statements, as well as minutes of meetings.

As the literature on role theory might suggest, using documents as a source to determine role conceptions is always fraught with the danger of selection bias and errors of interpretation. To counter this issue, interviews with forty Indonesian policymakers and other foreign policy actors, as well as domestic actors such as Members of Parliament and non-governmental organisations, were conducted to supplement the document analysis.⁷³ Although role theorists from the American tradition rarely use the interview method due to their methodological leaning towards quantitative methods in determining role conceptions,⁷⁴ I follow the Anglo-European tradition of role theory, in which interviews are necessary to substantiate how policymakers articulate and justify the enactment of role conceptions. Through the interviews, I was able to examine the internal contestation of the roles within the state and thus unpack the rhetoric-performance gap regarding the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions.

Furthermore, as argued by Tansey, the in-depth elite interview is one of the most important research tools in establishing a causal mechanism for process tracing. According to Tansey, there are four functions of in-depth elite interviews: (1) to corroborate what has been established from other sources; (2) to establish what a set of people think; (3) to make inferences about a larger population's characteristics and decisions; (4) and to help reconstruct an event or set of events.⁷⁵ In this research, given

⁷³ For a complete list of interviews for this thesis, please see appendix 1.

⁷⁴ Leslie E. Wehner and Cameron G. Thies, "Role Theory, Narratives, and Interpretation: The Domestic Contestation of Roles," *International Studies Review* 16, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 411–36.

⁷⁵ Oisín Tansey, "Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40, no. 4 (October 2007): 766.

my leaning towards interpretative paradigm, the elite interviews mainly served the second and fourth functions.

For this thesis, I interviewed informants whose roles were considered important, to evaluate the operationalised variables, namely the policymakers directly involved in policy-making and policy enactment. In the case of Indonesia's greater involvement in human rights governance, I interviewed diplomats who were responsible for conducting diplomacy in regard to human rights issues. In the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there is a directorate that deals with these specific issues, the Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian Issues. Besides the officials working in this Directorate from 2004 to 2014, I interviewed diplomats stationed at the United Nations Human Rights Council, which was established in 2006.

In investigating the national role conception and role enactment in Indonesia's involvement in trade-related issues, this thesis draws upon in-depth interviews with policymakers, both at the Ministry of Trade, who dealt with international trade negotiations, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who dealt with trade diplomacy. From the Indonesian Ministry of Trade, I interviewed the former Trade Minister, the General Director of International Trade Cooperation, senior officials working in the Ministry of Trade, and Indonesia's former and current trade negotiators. From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I interviewed policymakers in the Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation Affairs. Furthermore, to gain an insight into the process of role expectation, I interviewed diplomats and trade negotiators stationed at the World Trade Organization, who are involved in many trade negotiation initiatives (see appendix for full details).

As Indonesian foreign policy making is also undergoing democratisation, besides those institutions mentioned above, there are several governmental and non-governmental institutions that have influenced the Indonesian foreign policy making process in the post-authoritarian era. These are representatives of NGOs and think tanks as well as Members of Parliament, who indirectly influence the Indonesian foreign policy making process. The increasing number of actors involved might increase the likelihood of role conflict, especially in defining the role that Indonesia should take in these two areas of global governance. In order to examine the occurrence of role conflict, I interviewed at the Office of the Special Staff on

International Affairs under the Office of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the DPR, and nationally-acclaimed Indonesian think tanks such as INFID and The Habibie Center as well as the national branches of transnational NGOs such as Human Rights Watch Indonesia and the Institute for Global Justice (IGJ). In assessing role expectation for Indonesia in these two areas of global governance, I interviewed diplomats and representatives of ASEAN member countries.

Besides using primary data, such as official documents and elite interviews, the research draws on other documents such as bulletins published by ministries, departments, and relevant state agencies. These documents are essential in giving a background on the particular issues, especially the chronological timeline of specific policies and decisions made by Indonesian policymakers. This research also utilises Indonesian and international newspapers, and articles from publications such as *Antara News*, *the Jakarta Post*, *Reuters*, *Kompas*, *Kontan*, *Berita Satu*, and *Bisnis Indonesia*. This research also draws on reports by think tanks, INGOs such as the South Centre and International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD), the International Service for Human Rights (ISHR), as well as civil society movements, which enabled me to conduct triangulation of the data and findings from the official documents.

Case study selection

This thesis focuses on two areas in which Indonesia has sought a greater role in the post-authoritarian era: (1) democracy and human rights, and (2) trade issues. In terms of democracy and human rights issues, this thesis focuses on Indonesia's aspiration to have greater engagement in democracy and human rights promotion, despite the lack of full acceptance of the democratic norm. In regard to trade issues, the thesis aims to analyse the puzzling case of Indonesia's greater support for trade liberalisation despite its domestic audience's preference for protectionism.

I chose these specific cases for two reasons. First, they highlight areas in which Indonesia has been seen to, and continues to be expected to, play a more significant role outside of its previous foreign policy agenda, which focused on maintaining

regional stability for domestic economic development. However, despite Indonesia's greater involvement in these issues, the degree of its involvement, as well as the factors driving the involvement, might vary across cases. Therefore, the cases chosen might provide an interesting comparison of the differences and similarities in Indonesia's engagement in several areas of global governance. Second, the cases show the high degree of contestation from domestic actors, but Indonesia is still expected by the international community to take an active role in enhancing the Western-led global agenda. Hence, by examining Indonesia's engagement in these two areas, we can examine the continuity and change in its foreign policy towards global governance before and during the Yudhoyono presidency and the extent to which Indonesia's roles confirm, emulate, or resist the Western-led global order.

Given that emerging middle powers are, first and foremost, regional powers, their behaviour on the regional and global levels may be different, and thus so will their enactment of roles be different. Hence, Indonesia's behaviour at the regional and global levels may vary despite focusing on the same issues. Moreover, the theoretical objective of this thesis is to understand the different dynamics that affect how role conceptions are enacted. To understand the variance, this thesis seeks to examine the regional-global dynamics of this emerging middle power's pursuit of status by focusing on Indonesia's regional and global engagement. This thesis will examine four different cases: (1) Indonesia's role enactment in regard to regional human rights governance; (2) Indonesia's role enactment in regard to global human rights governance; (3) Indonesia's role enactment in regard to regional trade governance; and (4) Indonesia's role enactment in regard to global trade governance.

In this thesis, I treat the agenda of promoting democracy as part of the broader campaign in promoting human rights, given that both are usually mutually inclusive. On the one hand, democracy, as understood as a norm, requires a commitment to the equal political status of persons, which is the notion of human rights. On the other hand, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the essential elements of democracy.⁷⁶ Moreover, as argued by Guilhot, with the end of the Cold

⁷⁶ Samantha Besson, "Human Rights and Democracy in a Global Context: Decoupling and Recoupling," *Ethics & Global Politics* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 19–50.

War democracy and human rights have become the organising principles of the new international order.⁷⁷ Thus, it is logical to treat the promotion of democracy and human rights as one big project to promote liberal values.

In the light of the democratisation process, most recent studies have focused on how the process has shaped the outcomes of Indonesian foreign policy.⁷⁸ Few studies have thoroughly analysed the extent to which the enactment of the role of democracy promoter in Indonesian foreign policy aligns with Indonesia's pursuit of leadership at the regional and global levels. Within the regional order, this thesis focuses on Indonesia's role in enhancing democracy and human rights in three case studies, namely the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF), as well as Myanmar democratisation.

At the global level, this thesis focuses on the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council (HRC). Arguably the Council is not the sole representative of complex global human rights mechanisms that include a dense array of human rights treaties, institutions, networks and standards.⁷⁹ However, as the primary international collaborative mechanism responsible for the promotion and protection of all human rights, the Council serves as a venue in which non-Western powers accept or contest the liberal view of promoting and protecting human rights.⁸⁰ This case enables us to further examine Indonesia's role in global human rights governance.⁸¹ Despite its growing assertiveness,⁸² the literature on Indonesia's role in global human rights

⁷⁷ Nicolas Guilhot, *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and International Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

⁷⁸ Jörn Dosch, "ASEAN's Reluctant Liberal Turn and the Thorny Road to Democracy Promotion," *The Pacific Review* 21, no. 4 (August 28, 2008): 527–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740802294655>; Rüländ, "Deepening ASEAN Cooperation through Democratization?"

⁷⁹ Tom Pegram, "Global Human Rights Governance and Orchestration: National Human Rights Institutions as Intermediaries," *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 3 (2015).

⁸⁰ Eduard Jordaan, "South Africa and Abusive Regimes at the UN Human Rights Council," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 20, no. 2 (April 1, 2014): 233–54.

⁸¹ James Munro, "Why States Create International Human Rights Mechanisms: The Asean Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights and Democratic Lock-In Theory," *Asia-Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 1–26; Hsien-Li Tan, *The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights: Institutionalising Human Rights in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁸² Acharya, *Indonesia Matters*; Vibhanshu Shekhar, *Indonesia's Rise: Seeking Regional and Global Roles* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2014).

governance remains scarce compared with that on other emerging democratic powers, such as Brazil, India, and South Africa.⁸³ The case study aims to fill this lacuna by investigating Indonesia's involvement in the Human Rights Council. The focus on Indonesia in the Council is essential. Since its inception, Indonesia has been a member of the Human Rights Council during the following periods: 2006-07; 2007-10; and 2011-14. Indonesia was again elected a member of the Council for the period 2015-17.

In the case of Indonesia's role in the context of regional trade governance, this thesis focuses explicitly on Indonesia's role in two regional integration projects, namely the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the ongoing mega-regional trade negotiation, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). It could be argued that these two regional integration processes are not focused solely on trade but also on broader economic integration; covering a wide range of economic issues, such as infrastructure connectivity, labour movement and investment flows, the critical issues discussed or negotiated initially were trade-related issues.⁸⁴ This case study contributes to enhancing our understanding of Indonesia's foreign policy regarding regional economic integration projects.

Furthermore, this thesis focuses on Indonesia's role in the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) round negotiations processes at the World Trade Organisation (WTO), as a case study of Indonesia's global role in trade governance. The case of emerging middle powers' role in global trade governance through the WTO has been chosen because it is the most obvious example of countries from the Global South challenging imbalances in the Western-led system. In our case, its role in DDA negotiations is a case in point for Indonesia's aspiration to play a more significant role outside of its previous foreign policy agenda.

The case study contributes to the role theory literature by advancing the notion of role-playing in the study of states' behaviour in regard to global governance. Moreover, by employing role theory, this thesis also further enhances our understanding of emerging middle powers' behaviour in the WTO. The majority of the theoretical approaches

⁸³ Jordaan, "South Africa and Abusive Regimes at the UN Human Rights Council."

⁸⁴ Jeffrey D. Wilson, "Mega-Regional Trade Deals in the Asia-Pacific: Choosing Between the TPP and RCEP?," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 45, no. 2 (April 3, 2015): 345–53.

employed to understand emerging middle powers' behaviour in the WTO are heavily reliant on rationalist underpinnings in explaining emerging middle powers' behaviour in the WTO.⁸⁵ This thesis aims to give a more nuanced reading of emerging middle powers' behaviour in the WTO by looking at the roles enacted within the organisation.

Empirically, the case study aims to further analyse the role of emerging middle powers in the multilateral trading system. Studies on the Global South's experiences in the multilateral trading system have become increasingly important. However, those studies on the role of emerging middle powers focus mainly on Brazil, India, South Africa, and China.⁸⁶ Surprisingly few studies aim to understand the role of Indonesia in the WTO, which is also an important emerging middle power that played a more active role in the WTO Doha round negotiation.⁸⁷ This case study aims to expand the empirical scope of study by analysing Indonesia's behaviour in the Doha round negotiation.

Table 1.2 Case studies of the thesis

Issue	Regional	Global
Democracy and Human Rights	ASEAN, Bali Democracy Forum, Myanmar democratisation	UN Human Rights Council
Economic Cooperation and Trade	AEC and RCEP	WTO

Source: Author

⁸⁵ Amrita Narlikar, *International Trade and Developing Countries: Bargaining Coalitions in the GATT & WTO* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁸⁶ Kristen Hopewell, "Different Paths to Power: The Rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization," *Review of International Political Economy* 22, no. 2 (March 4, 2015): 311–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2014.927387>; Charalampos Efstathiopoulos, *Middle Powers in World Trade Diplomacy*, Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137381767_2.

⁸⁷ Indonesia's role in the WTO was discussed by several studies but within their general discussion on Indonesia's trade policy. See Hadi Soesastro and M. Chatib Basri, "The Political Economy of Trade Policy in Indonesia," *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 22, no. 1 (2005): 3–18.

Plan of the thesis

The thesis consists of eight chapters and is divided into three parts. The first part is the theoretical and historical section, which consists of two chapters. The second part consists of two chapters focusing on Indonesia's engagement in human rights governance. The third part comprises two chapters dealing with Indonesia's engagement in trade governance. The last chapter provides the conclusion.

Chapter 2 further explores how role theory links agential and structural levels of analysis in explaining the behaviour of states in international politics. There are three theoretical discussions that aim to sharpen role theory's analytical power, namely the distinction between role and identity, the importance of unpacking the notion of international and domestic audiences, and the need to conceptualise the notion of role conflict and role legitimisation. To conceptualise such notions, this chapter introduces the literature on state transformation and ontological security.

Chapter 3 traces Indonesia's role conceptions from the post-independence period in 1949, until the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime and the subsequent early *reformasi* era, by examining the change and continuity of Indonesia's national role conceptions to understand the historical context of its foreign policy. Building upon this discussion, the chapter then identifies four main overarching national role conceptions that were conceptualised and enacted by the Yudhoyono administration, but draw on historical precedence. This chapter contends that the stability of role conception may not only be explained by the temporal dimension but also by the nature of role construction, which should be able to reflect on the state's biographical narrative, rather than the articulation of ego or alter expectations that are captured by foreign policymakers.

Chapter 4 examines how Indonesia's role as an advocate for democracy and human rights has been enacted at the regional level. By mobilising the notion of role conflict, this chapter argues that Indonesia has experienced 'role conflict' in its efforts to be an advocate of democracy and human rights norms at the regional level, particularly in ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific. This role has been hindered by its other roles, namely the role of regional leader and bridge-builder. Moreover, in Chapter 4, I challenge the conventional view that Indonesia's democracy promotion agenda is a function of its

democratic identity by demonstrating that the identity-based explanation is incomplete in understanding the country's policy on promoting democracy. While it could be argued that democracy has become Indonesia's state identity, it does not necessarily drive democracy promotion agendas.

Chapter 5 analyses the enactment of Indonesia's role conception in the UN Human Rights Council. This chapter argues that two interrelated factors are constraining role conceptions in enhancing the human rights issue at the global level. The first factor is Indonesia's state transformation, which has created fragmentation among state agencies. The second factor is Indonesia's current domestic issue regarding the separatist movement in Papua province. These factors have created ambivalence in Indonesia's enactment of the role of advocate of democracy and human rights norms at the global level.

Chapter 6 discusses how the process of state transformation, leading to the fragmentation of the state, hinders the coherent enactment of Indonesia's role conception in the realm of regional trade governance especially in the AEC as well as in RCEP. This chapter argues that Indonesia's ambition to enact the role of regional leader in Southeast Asia by continuously providing new ideas and direction to regional institution-building has pushed its foreign trade rhetoric to support liberal economic policies. The neoliberal norm underpinning the project has not been well-received by the majority of domestic actors in Indonesia and has only been advocated by economic and technocratic elites. As a result, the enactment of the role of regional leader in the realm of regional trade governance is not thoroughly embraced by policymakers in other ministries.

Chapter 7 investigates why Indonesia seems to enjoy relatively little hindrance in enacting the role conceptions it aspires to at the global level. This chapter contends that multilateral trade governance, particularly the DDA round, has been utilised by Indonesian foreign policymakers as an arena for Indonesia to play a greater role at the global level. However, rather than reflecting the domestic policy preferences, international expectations towards Indonesia are more likely to drive the enactment of Indonesia's roles in the DDA negotiations. At this point, the commitments made as well as the rhetoric calling for a more liberalised multilateral trading system within the negotiation by Indonesia are not in line with its domestic trade policies. The reason

for the gap between its role conceptions and domestic policies can be interpreted as a result of the co-optation of trade policy in the WTO by the Indonesian foreign policy agenda.

Chapter 8 provides an overall assessment of how the main empirical findings confirm and support the theoretical framework proposed. It also briefly states the limitations of the study and proposes possibilities for further research.

PART I
THEORY AND HISTORY

Chapter 2

Role theory in International Relations: a theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter includes theoretical exploration and refinement of role theory literature. Despite having the potential to provide a new research agenda for the foreign policy of emerging middle powers discussion, current literature on role theory still lacks the ability to explicitly link the agency and structural levels of analysis. This chapter explores how role theory could combine agential and structural levels of analysis in explaining the behaviour of emerging middle powers in international politics. To do so, I incorporate key concepts from cognate fields; mainly symbolic interactionism, state transformation, ontological security, identity theory, and norm diffusion, into role theory literature. There are three theoretical discussions that this chapter aims to tackle in order to sharpen role theory's analytical power.

First, this chapter clarifies the conceptual link and distinction between role and identity. This endeavour is vital because conceptual confusion within the constructivist approach sometimes treats the concept of roles as interchangeable with the concept of identity. Building upon the symbolic interactionist tradition and ontological security literature, I reiterate that notion of role is an essential feature of state identity. While state identity might be more rigid, roles are much more malleable. This provides agencies within the state with freedom and discretion to craft role conceptions. Therefore, the changes in the domestic and international systems may not change identity; instead, the changes would be reflected in the roles taken by the state.

Second, this chapter further conceptualises *role conflict*, by unpacking the notion of international and domestic audiences. Here, I engage with the literature on state transformation and incorporate it into role theoretical framework. Third, this chapter introduces the notion of *role legitimation*, to enhance analytical tools within role theory for better analysis of the domestic contestation of role conceptions and how the state, represented by policymakers, deals with such contestation. The discussion on

role conflict and role legitimization is the crux of my contribution to role theory literature.

This chapter presents five sections. In the first, I provide a general overview of the development of role theory by situating it within broader literature on Sociology and IR. The second section is a detailed discussion of role and identity, by engaging with identity theory and ontological security literature. In the third and fourth sections, I develop and refine the notion of international and domestic audiences to further unpack the concept of role conflict. The fifth section introduces role legitimization as a concept that links discussions on how state agency legitimises its roles enactment to avoid domestic contestation.

Understanding role theory in International Relations

In the previous chapter, I have briefly introduced the notion of role conception and how it could be a framework to apply mid-range theory to the behaviour of emerging middle powers. However, role theory should not be reduced only to the discussion of role conception, which was developed by K.J Holsti in 1970's to bring role theory into the field of International Relations. Holsti's seminal work inspired role theory research, especially within the sub-field of foreign policy analysis. Although Holsti brought some insights of role theory to International Relations scholarship, it was the constructivist literature which shifted the focus from interest towards identity and norm that has made IR scholarship utilise the notion of roles.⁸⁸

Role theory has a long tradition in the field of Sociology. It concerns the most important characteristic of social relations and behaviour, that is, how individuals behave based on their respective social identities and situation.⁸⁹ In general, there are

⁸⁸ Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 171–200; Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (October 1998): 887–917; John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (October 1998): 855–85.

⁸⁹ Rupert Brown, "Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30, no. 6 (November 1, 2000): 745–78.

five strands of role theory: functional, structural, interactional, organisational, and cognitive.⁹⁰ As summarised by Biddle, structural role theory treats roles as social positions conceived by stable organisations of sets of persons who share the same societal norms and expectations. Symbolic interactionist role theory accepts the existence of social positions with broad imperatives for roles to be worked out, although the actual roles are negotiated and understood during interaction. In other words, symbolic interactionism emphasises how actors define and construct roles during interaction. Functional role theory emphasises the characteristic behaviours of persons and thus treat roles as ‘parts’ or ‘positions’ of a stable social system.⁹¹ Organisational role theory mainly focuses on how different normative expectations may reflect the official demands of the organisation and pressures of informal groups within an organisation.⁹² The last one is cognitive role theory which focuses on how social condition give a rise to expectations. This strand of role theory mainly flourished in the field of cognitive social psychology.

Given my discussion of role theory is framed within the agent-structure debate, I focus more on the structural and interactional strand of role theory. In fact, the notion of role in the field of International Relations is mainly discussed within the structural framework approach. This is due to the prevalence of the structural approach, in which the distribution of power within international system is the most celebrated independent variable for explaining states’ behaviour. Thus, while structural role theory has not yet achieved a significant following within Sociology,⁹³ it has gained ground within IR scholarship.

Alexander Wendt, in his seminal work *Social Theory of International Politics*, discussed the importance of the concept of role in his constructivist approach to IR.⁹⁴ Due to the structuralist inclination within International Relations scholarship, roles are

⁹⁰ B. J. Biddle, “Recent Development in Role Theory,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 12 (1986): 67–92.

⁹¹ Dirk Nabers, “Identity and Role Change in International Politics,” in *Role Theory in International Relations*, ed. Sebastian Harnisch, Cornelia Frank, and Hanns W. Maull (New York: Routledge, 2011), 74–92.

⁹² Mark Wickham and Melissa Parker, “Reconceptualising Organisational Role Theory for Contemporary Organisational Contexts,” *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 22, no. 5 (July 3, 2007): 440–64, <https://doi.org/10.1108/02683940710757182>.

⁹³ Biddle, “Recent Development in Role Theory.”

⁹⁴ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 257.

usually assumed as attributes of a structure, not as attributes of agency. As argued by Wendt, the treatment of roles as an attribute of a structure is a part of critique towards the understanding of roles as beliefs of the decision-makers that situates the notion of roles as a merely unit-level property.⁹⁵ For Wendt, roles should be a property of macro-structures rather than actor belief. However, due to this treatment of role, Wendt's typology is too narrow and rigid; he only offers three roles within international politics namely enemy, rival, and friend.⁹⁶ Furthermore, given that roles are primarily a function of status or position, they are constrained by the position of the actor within the social structure.⁹⁷ As Barnett put it, for roles to be able to explain state behaviour 'they must exist before interaction and constrain state action'.⁹⁸ For Barnett, roles are properties of institutions. Through this understanding, it is the structure of the international system rather than interactions that drive states' role enactment. It is not surprising that many of the analyses of IR scholars that employ role theory automatically assume that states' roles mainly are derived from the international system.

Within IR scholarship, states' roles, or role conception is defined as 'an actor's perception of his or her position vis-a-vis others ... and the perception of the role expectations of others as signalled through language and action'.⁹⁹ Originally, Holsti defined role conception as 'policymakers' own definitions of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system'.¹⁰⁰ Both definitions assign a greater significance to policymakers in crafting role conceptions. However, for Holsti the source of role conceptualisation always came from international expectations. As put by Holsti, 'it seems reasonable to assume that those responsible for making decisions and taking actions for the state are aware of

⁹⁵ Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*.

⁹⁶ Wendt.

⁹⁷ Hans Joas, *Pragmatism and Social Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 226.

⁹⁸ Michael Barnett, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (1993): 272.

⁹⁹ Sebastian Harnisch, "Role Theory: Operationalization of Key Concepts," in *Role Theory in International Relations*, ed. Sebastian Harnisch, Cornelia Frank, and Hanns W. Maull (London: Routledge, 2011), 8.

¹⁰⁰ K. J. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (September 1, 1970): 14.

international status distinctions and that their policies reflect this awareness'.¹⁰¹ Thus, as pointed out by McCourt, the international sources of roles, such as the expectations of other governments and legal norms expressed through custom and treaties, are the dominant source in the conceptualisation of roles.¹⁰² Consequently, early scholars of role theory in IR often neglected the domestic source of roles.

While structural role theory treated roles as a product of factors such as trends in the external environment, symbolic interactionist role theory aims to assert the importance of the domestic sources. In so doing, it provides a more nuanced analysis of roles that states enact in international politics. This strand of role theory places greater emphasis on agency, where roles are not a fixed list of duties and positions. Instead, it defines the notion of roles within three interrelated dimensions. First, actors cognitively structure their own position into roles that they aim to enact. Second, roles are a result of how actors learn to react in a given situation. Third, roles are used by actors as a resource for interaction in given situations.¹⁰³ Through this premise, agents as role beholders also shape the process of role-making through their preferences.¹⁰⁴ In our case, Indonesia's role conceptions are also shaped by the changes in the way how policy-makers, as role beholders, react to the changes in the international system and how they mobilise the roles in a given situation. For instance, Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy can be interpreted as a result of the democratisation process which can be mobilised to define Indonesia's international position as a newly democratic power. The role is also a part of the policymakers' reading of the decline of western-style democracy promotion agenda which give a room for Indonesia to play a more significant role in such an agenda. Moreover, the role as an advocate of democracy can be strategically utilised by Indonesia as a resource to increase its regional leadership in Southeast Asia and beyond.

¹⁰¹ Holsti, 242.

¹⁰² David M. McCourt, "The Roles States Play: A Meadian Interactionist Approach," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15, no. 3 (July 1, 2012): 370–92.

¹⁰³ John P. Hewitt and David Shulman, *Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2011), 51.

¹⁰⁴ Sebastian Harnisch, "Conceptualizing in the Minefield: Role Theory and Foreign Policy Learning," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 47–69.

Most role theorists within the field of Sociology agree that expectations are the central generators of roles, acquired through learning and experience.¹⁰⁵ Despite wide acceptance that roles are a product of expectations, just like any social concepts, there is disagreement on defining the source of those expectations. Some scholars argue that norms are the source of expectation, others assert that beliefs and preferences as the source of expectation.¹⁰⁶

Although the sources of expectation are varied, by synthesising both structural and symbolic interactionist role theory scholarship, there are two main processes through which roles are constructed. These are, ego understanding of the self (ego expectation) and other expectation of the self (alter expectation).¹⁰⁷ In this work, the former captures the domestic-driven factors in influencing the construction of role conceptions while the latter could capture the international dimension. Hence, unlike structural, symbolic interactionist role theory does not heavily rely on structural factors in its analysis of roles conceptions. Instead, the state is actively shaping its roles within the social system by considering these two processes.

In our case, domestic-driven factors, as I will discuss further below, is primarily focused on the contestation among policymakers regarding Indonesia's role conceptions. The international dimension of role conceptions is primarily concerned with the way how expectations from international actors drive the enactment of particular role conceptions. The process of internal contestation and acceptance of external expectations shapes the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions.

Ego expectation could also be seen as an articulation of state identity that needs to be translated into a role conception. Although roles are not just a function of this identity, they usually reflect the norms, values, ideology, as well as beliefs that are currently dominant features of domestic political culture.¹⁰⁸ For instance, Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy is not merely a result of policymakers' deliberate choice to

¹⁰⁵ Biddle, "Recent Development in Role Theory."

¹⁰⁶ Bruce J. Biddle, *Role Theory: Expectations, Identities, and Behaviors* (New York: Academic Press, 2013); Sheldon Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version* (Caldwell: Blackburn Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁷ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (University of Chicago Press, 2009); Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism*.

¹⁰⁸ David M. McCourt, "Role-Playing and Identity Affirmation in International Politics: Britain's Reinvasion of the Falklands, 1982," *Review of International Studies* 37, no. 4 (2011): 1599–1621.

enact such role. Neither because democracy has become Indonesia's state identity that needs to be articulated through the enactment of role conception. Rather, it is driven by a fundamental change in Indonesia's domestic political landscape namely Indonesia's democratisation process which provides policymakers with an opportunity to enact the role as an advocate of democracy. Therefore, the changes in the domestic political environment might lead to recalibration of role conceptions that affect the foreign policy agenda.

Besides ego expectation, the expectations of others (alter) is vital in role construction. Symbolic interactionist role theory mainly distinguishes alter into two broad categories, significant and generalised other.¹⁰⁹ Alter can refer to more tangible actors such as states or international organisations that are significant (significant other) as the leading socialising agent towards the self. It could also refer to abstract terms (generalised other) such as democracy, human rights, or liberalisation.¹¹⁰ In line with the constructivist approach, role expectation could capture the essence of socialising and learning processes that contribute to the actor preferences, which might have an impact on the future roles.¹¹¹ Other than significant and generalised other, role expectation is also dependent on the structure of an international system. The changes in the structure of an international system, which are usually characterised by redistribution of power, would have an immense impact on overall expectations towards the self. Thus, alter role expectation could also be regarded as a structural element of role conceptions.

In this section, I do not try to refute conceptualisation of roles by constructivist IR scholars that are mainly structural, nor do I wholeheartedly agree with a conceptualisation developed by symbolic interactionism that mainly focuses on interaction and agency. Symbolic interactionist role theory is not without limitation. It tends to ignore the structural factors in explaining actors' behaviour, which makes its analysis of state behaviour rather incomplete. This is because structural constraints

¹⁰⁹ Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*.

¹¹⁰ Sebastian Harnisch, "'Dialogue and Emergence' George Herbert Mead's Contribution to Role Theory and His Reconstruction of International Politics," in *Role Theory in International Relations*, ed. Sebastian Harnisch, Cornelia Frank, and Hanns W. Maull (New York: Routledge, 2011), 74–92.

¹¹¹ Harnisch, "Conceptualizing in the Minefield"; Cameron G. Thies and Marijke Breuning, "Integrating Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations through Role Theory," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 1–4.

cannot be ignored in the study of states' behaviour in the international system, given that structural factors have significant influence. Both structural and symbolic interactionist role theory have their own merits and limitations. Incorporating and synthesising the two types of literature could provide a fruitful discussion of the agent-structure problem within IR scholarship, particularly in bridging both an actor-dominant and a system-dominant perspective into the analysis.¹¹² In the case of Indonesia as an emerging power, incorporating both literature provides us with a more nuanced narrative for its seemingly ambivalent roles at regional and global levels. Ultimately, incorporating the two provides students of International Relations a space to analyse how state agency could navigate expectations from both actors within states and alter expectations while at the same time maintaining the state's sense of self-identity.

The nexus between role and identity

Having discussed the evolution of role theory within broader literature on constructivism in IR, this section further disentangles the nexus between role and identity. Despite the similarity of literature on role theory and identity,¹¹³ many studies that engage with constructivism in IR do not explicitly try to further synthesise or differentiate the two. As argued by McCourt, role and identity within IR scholarship are sometimes conflated at the conceptual level, leading to the literature in IR to ignore the distinctions. Therefore, many scholars in IR automatically accept that roles and identities are co-constitutive and that their relationship is a two-way process. On the one hand, actors may formulate and enact the roles that support and confirm their identity. On the other hand, identity could provide actors with a set of references to help them to interpret the social position that roles provide.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Harnisch, "'Dialogue and Emergence' George Herbert Mead's Contribution to Role Theory and His Reconstruction of International Politics."

¹¹³ Peter J. Burke and Donald C. Reitzes, "The Link Between Identity and Role Performance," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1981): 83–92; Peter L. Callero, "Role-Identity Salience," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (1985): 203–15.

¹¹⁴ Burke and Reitzes, "The Link Between Identity and Role Performance," 84.

The growing interest in role theory has facilitated more conversation between the two concepts. As argued by Breuning, ‘Much of the constructivist work on identity, self-images, culture, and even norms shares a close kinship with the literature on national role conceptions’.¹¹⁵ To clarify the nexus between roles and identities in IR, I draw several insights from identity theory, developed mainly by social psychologists, that integrates structural and symbolic interactionism theory.¹¹⁶ Identity theorists have focused on the match between the actors occupying a role and their identity, as well as to what extent these factors influence each other.¹¹⁷ According to identity theory, identity could be conceptualised as ‘a set of meaning that is tied to and sustains the self as an individual’.¹¹⁸ A role, however, can be the basis for identity because, for identity theorists, the role is a morphological component of the social structure that allows identity to emerge.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, according to identity theory, roles are an important part of identity formation because the core of identity is rooted in ‘the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role, and the incorporation, into the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance’.¹²⁰ Given this condition, as a part of maintaining identities, agents also need to maintain roles. This means that in order to have a particular identity, one will act to fulfil the expectations of the role, coordinating and negotiating interaction with role partners and manipulating the resources for which the role has responsibility.¹²¹ Through this understanding, Indonesia’s role conceptions reflect the dominant identity that the state currently embraces and wants to maintain. For instance, Indonesia’s recently constructed identity as a moderate Muslim requires it to enact the role as a bridge-

¹¹⁵ Marijke Breuning, “Role Theory Research in International Relations,” in *Role Theory in International Relations*, ed. Sebastian Harnisch, Cornelia Frank, and Hanns W. Maull (New York: Routledge, 2011), 22.

¹¹⁶ Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke, “The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2000): 284–97; Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁷ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*.

¹¹⁸ Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke, “Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2000): 225.

¹¹⁹ Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism*, 54.

¹²⁰ Peter J. Burke, “Identities and Social Structure: The 2003 Cooley-Mead Award Address,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 5.

¹²¹ Stets and Burke, “Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory,” 226.

builder between the Western and the Islamic world in light of the War on Terror waged by the US.

One should note that in enacting roles a state's experience is shaped by their relationships with other actors, groups they identify with, networks they engage with, and institutions they belong to. Thus, while actors learn to play the roles during interactions, the structure of an international system acts as 'facilitators of and constraints on entrance into and departures from networks of interpersonal relationships'.¹²² Hence, understanding particular roles of the state should also take into account the importance of the context in which the role is enacted. For instance, the roles being enacted in the realm of trade may not have the same function with the role enacted in the realm of security or human rights. Likewise, the roles enacted at regional levels might be different with the roles enacted at the global level.

In short, roles supply actors with a sense of meaningful self.¹²³ Here many scholars use the term role-identity, which refers to 'the character and the role that an individual devises for themselves as an occupant of particular social position'.¹²⁴ Through this understanding, roles are expectations attached to positions in networks of relationships, while identities are basically internalised role expectations.¹²⁵ In this conceptualisation, actors have a general understanding of the existing social position but try to make the performance of the role unique to themselves. Given that social position and role are only loosely prescribing appropriate behaviour, actors have more flexibility to individualise the performance of their role in order to express their own identity.

The conceptual distinction between role and identity is helpful in analysing the seeming incoherence between roles taken by the state and its deep-rooted identity. For instance, many would argue that Indonesia's democracy promotion is the result of its state identity as democratic. However, despite this image, Indonesia's democracy is quite vulnerable. Many Indonesians believe that democracy creates excessive

¹²² Sheldon Stryker, "From Mead to a Structural Symbolic Interactionism and Beyond," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2008): 15–31.

¹²³ Stets and Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory," 115.

¹²⁴ McCall and Simmons, 1978, p. 65

¹²⁵ Stets and Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory," 286.

freedom, despite the fact that the NGO Freedom House still considers the country to have many constraints to civil liberties. As argued by many scholars, even after two decades Indonesia's democracy is still a procedural rather than a liberal one.¹²⁶ State policy that discriminates against religious minorities is still prevalent, and an increasing number of violent acts are committed.¹²⁷ Given the above discussion, there is hardly any evidence to suggest that the democratic norm has shaped Indonesian political culture. While it can be argued that democracy has become Indonesia's state identity, its aspiring role as a promoter is not a manifestation of a firm and coherent democratic political culture, which would be a permanent feature. Rather than as firmly established state identity, Indonesia's democratic promotion should be seen as role conception articulated by foreign policy elites in the country's quest for international prestige. Hence, by conceptually distinguishing between identity and roles, we can situate roles as a mediator between identity and foreign policy actions.

So far, this chapter has conceptually situated roles within literature on identity, and established that roles could be both a function of the interaction between states in the international system and could constitute part of an identity. But how can we understand the change and continuity of role conceptions? Many role theorists within IR scholarship have tried to understand the conditions that make role conceptions constant or changing.¹²⁸ There is abundant literature that draws from foreign policy analysis that concludes alterations of role conceptions are dependent on specific sets of circumstances, such as a change in: (1) the fundamental structural conditions; (2) strategic political leadership; or (3) a crisis of some kind.¹²⁹ However, given that roles and identity are closely connected, I contend that to understand change and continuity

¹²⁶ Vedi R Hadiz and Richard Robison, "Competing Populisms in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia," *International Political Science Review* 38, no. 4 (September 1, 2017): 488–502; Edward Aspinall and Marcus Mietzner, "Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: An Overview," in *Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions and Society*, ed. Edward Aspinall and Mietzner (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2010), 1–20.

¹²⁷ Human Rights Watch, "In Religion's Name: Abuses against Religious Minorities in Indonesia," ReliefWeb, February 28, 2013, <https://reliefweb.int/report/indonesia/religion%E2%80%99s-name-abuses-against-religious-minorities-indonesia>.

¹²⁸ Kai Oppermann, "National Role Conceptions, Domestic Constraints and the New 'Normalcy' in German Foreign Policy: The Eurozone Crisis, Libya and Beyond," *German Politics* 21, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 502–19; Glenn Chafetz, Hillel Abramson, and Suzette Grillot, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy: Belarussian and Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Political Psychology* 17, no. 4 (1996): 727–57.

¹²⁹ Jakob Gustavsson, "How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?," *Cooperation and Conflict* 34, no. 1 (March 1, 1999): 73–95.

of role conceptions, we should also examine the notion of identity. As Chafetz et al. argue ‘the salience of any given role conception depends on the accessibility and fit of the identity to a social setting and the centrality and value of a given role to the actor's self-concept’.¹³⁰

How do the changes in and continuities of role conceptions link to state identity? To address such a link, I turn to growing ontological security literature to build an identity-based understanding of roles. While the notion of ontological security has been applied to a wide range of research questions in International Relations, there is a dearth of study aiming to apply the insight to the growing literature on role theory. Just like role theory, IR scholars borrow the notion from the works of sociologists, such as Giddens¹³¹ and Laing,¹³² to explain how states seek ontological security in world politics. Since its introduction to the field, ontological security has been increasingly applied within IR literature. The basic premise is that, just like an individual, the state has need for stable and consistent identity. Ontological security requires that the state has routines that develop as a basic trust system.¹³³ Routines allow the state to project unitary identities and interests to pursue. In brief, the ontological security literature argues that the state, apart from pursuing physical security also seeks a secure sense of itself.

There are two strands of ontological security within International Relations scholarship. Externally, a state seeking ontological security aims to maintain its self-conceptions in international relations, especially regarding its interaction with other states. Here, the sense of inter-subjectivity and the process of socialisation are vital in understanding how states react to such external variables to maintain self-conceptions. Internally, the agency within the state seeks to maintain a particular notion of self-identity in light of changes in both alter and ego expectations towards the state. Some literature has suggested that the notion of state identity relies not so much on its inter-

¹³⁰ Chafetz, Abramson, and Grillot, “Role Theory and Foreign Policy,” 736.

¹³¹ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

¹³² R. D. Laing, *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness* (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

¹³³ Jennifer Mitzen, “Anchoring Europe’s Civilizing Identity: Habits, Capabilities and Ontological Security,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, no. 2 (March 1, 2006): 273; Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, 38.

subjective dimension but more on the state's ability to tell 'a convincing story about the self through autobiographical narratives'.¹³⁴ In other words, as argued by Steele, agency within the state can justify particular policy choices 'by reasoning what such a policy means or would mean about their state's respective sense of self-identity'.¹³⁵ It is necessary for the state to justify their action in identity terms because 'only in the telling of the event does it acquire meaning, the meaning that makes such events politically relevant'.¹³⁶

IR literature usually mobilises the ontological security concept to critique the traditional understanding that prioritises physical security and shifts the debate to understanding how states need to secure stable identity. However, as argued by Browning and Joenniemi, a sense of ontological security 'entails an ability to tolerate and cope with uncertainty by reconstituting self-biographies and routines in view of unfolding developments'.¹³⁷ Hence, ontological security should not only be framed as a matter of state's need to maintain its sense of identity stability, but can also be applied to how the state actor could manage change and uncertainty by developing, altering, and maintaining the biographical narrative.

According to Giddens, biographical narrative refers to 'narrative of the self: the story or stories by means of which self-identity is reflexively understood, both by the individual concerned and by others'.¹³⁸ Steele substantiates this as a way for the state to justify their actions despite acting against existing international principles. Furthermore, a biographical narrative should be coherent to be socially powerful. However, creating a coherent biographical narrative could be a challenge, given the contestation within domestic political actors over which narrative should dominate.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Brent J. Steele, "Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War," *Review of International Studies* 31, no. 3 (2005): 519–540; Jelena Subotić, "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12, no. 4 (2016): 610–627.

¹³⁵ Brent J. Steele, *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 12.

¹³⁶ Anthony F. Lang, *Agency and Ethics: The Politics of Military Intervention* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), 13.

¹³⁷ Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, "From Fratricide to Security Community: Re-Theorising Difference in the Constitution of Nordic Peace," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 496.

¹³⁸ Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, 243.

¹³⁹ Subotić, "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change," 611.

While many studies on ontological security use a biographical narrative as an instrument states employ to justify their actions, this chapter suggests that actors within the state may treat the need for coherent biographical narratives as a strategy to fundamentally change domestic politics as a part of state identity. In order to reflect this, particularly towards international audiences, the agency within the state mobilises role conceptions as an instrument to maintain a sense of coherent biographical narrative. In this case, role conceptions are likely to continue after they serve the overall biographical narrative while ceasing to exist if they can no longer be used as justification by the state.

Sustaining biographical narratives serves to defend the very core identity of the state. Role conceptions are enacted to emulate the normative foundation of the state's formation, in this case, anti-colonial spirit and pre-colonial history are likely to be persistent compared to other role conceptions. This is particularly true for a post-colonial state from the Global South like Indonesia. This is because the experience of struggle against colonialism became an integral part of the state identity building.¹⁴⁰ In this case, the early formative years of the state are crucial for an overall biographical narrative that shape foreign policy of the Global South. It also means that role conceptions enacted from early formative years is strategically enacted to sustain the continuity of state's biographical narrative to both an international and domestic audiences.

In the case of Indonesia, as further substantiated in Chapter 3, the change and continuity of Indonesia's current role conceptions cannot be separated from its need to maintain a biographical narrative as a leader among developing countries and in the region. These biographical narratives may be rooted in the legacy of Indonesia's struggle for independence, and even further back in, the pre-colonial era.¹⁴¹

For instance, as suggested in Weinstein's seminal work on Indonesian foreign policy in the transition period from Sukarno to Suharto, the notion of voicing developing countries' desire for independence, conceptualised by Indonesian founding fathers,

¹⁴⁰ Manjari Chatterjee Miller, *Wronged by Empire: Post-Imperial Ideology and Foreign Policy in India and China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

¹⁴¹ Jürgen Rüländ, *The Indonesian Way: Asean, Europeanization, and Foreign Policy Debates in a New Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

has become synonymous with its anti-Western agenda.¹⁴² This view is indeed the product of Indonesia's history of struggle against Dutch colonialism.

Another instance of Indonesia's role being a part of its biographical narrative is the role of regional leader developed by Suharto's regime. Under Suharto's leadership, the emphasis was on the need to secure the centre by creating resilience in the periphery, which motivated Indonesia to pursue the role of regional leader. This was to maintain the stability of Southeast Asia from external powers. This in return nurtured the regional building identity. This is in line with Acharya's reading of Southeast Asia's regionalism, in which the normative basis for constructing regionalism was traced back to the existence of Mandala system, a pre-colonial polity in both the archipelagic and mainland Southeast Asia.¹⁴³

Arguably, these two role conceptions represent efforts to sustain Indonesia's core-identity as a state with a long history of struggle against Dutch colonialism and a suspicion over the meddling of external powers in the region.¹⁴⁴ Hence, one interpretation can be made that role conception functions as an instrument for the actors within the state to reflect the overall biographical narrative. Another interpretation could also be made, in which role conceptions enacted by the current government can be legitimised by linking them to reflect such biographical narrative.

This section concludes that the incorporation of identity theory, ontological security, and symbolic interactionism into role theory literature provides a nuanced understanding of the nexus between role and identity. Roles are a constitutive part of identity formation, but they can also be a strategic instrument to maintain a coherent biographical narrative of the state. Moreover, this section shows that while the notion of identity implies a very rigid set of ideas and behaviours,¹⁴⁵ roles imply more diverse and multifaceted relationships. Roles are driven by a specific combination of policymakers' interpretations of their supposed behaviour, society's expectations, as

¹⁴² Franklin B. Weinstein, *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence: From Sukarno to Soeharto* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976).

¹⁴³ Amitav Acharya, "Imagined Proximities: The Making and Unmaking of Southeast Asia as a Region," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 27, no. 1 (January 1, 1999): 55–76.

¹⁴⁴ Rüländ, *The Indonesian Way*, 35.

¹⁴⁵ Mischa Hansel and Miriam Möller, "Indian Foreign Policy and International Humanitarian Norms: A Role-Theoretical Analysis," *Asian Politics & Policy* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 2015): 79–104.

well as the particular context in which the role is enacted. By applying role theory, the operationalisation of state identity in foreign policy can be seen, in the role conceptions enacted by the government in charge. Having discussed the nexus between role and identity, the next section will examine the condition in which enacted role conceptions conflict with one another.

Role conflict and regional-global nexus

Role conflict is one of the earliest key concepts of role theory literature. Much of the literature from Sociology, especially within the tradition of organisational role theory, concerns the study of role conflict.¹⁴⁶ In this field, role conflict appears in a condition where others do not hold a consensus over expectations for a person's behaviour.¹⁴⁷ In a straightforward definition, role conflict can be defined as 'the concurrent appearance of two or more incompatible expectations for the behaviour of a person'.¹⁴⁸ One of the basic factors that may cause role conflict is ambiguity. Role ambiguity is a condition in which there is a lack of necessary information regarding expectations and methods for fulfilling the role.¹⁴⁹

Furthermore, role conflict may appear due to an abundance of choices for the actor. The structural symbolic interactionist perspective conceptualises choice as 'reflecting constraints which operate on any given set of identities'.¹⁵⁰ Given that the actor has multiple roles to positions within a particular set of networks and relationships, there is 'a role choice' that requires the actor to meet expectations of one role rather than another. The act of choosing one role within a particular social setting may lead to a

¹⁴⁶ Mary Van Sell, Arthur P. Brief, and Randall S. Schuler, "Role Conflict and Role Ambiguity: Integration of the Literature and Directions for Future Research," *Human Relations* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 1981): 43–71; Steven W. Floyd and Peter J. Lane, "Strategizing throughout the Organization: Managing Role Conflict in Strategic Renewal," *The Academy of Management Review* 25, no. 1 (2000): 154–77.

¹⁴⁷ Biddle, "Recent Development in Role Theory."

¹⁴⁸ Biddle, 82.

¹⁴⁹ Van Sell, Brief, and Schuler, "Role Conflict and Role Ambiguity."

¹⁵⁰ Richard T. Serpe, "Stability and Change in Self: A Structural Symbolic Interactionist Explanation," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (1987): 46.

decreased performance of other roles. This could lead to the emergence of role conflict.

As suggested by role theory literature, states may have multiple roles in the international system, and the salience of each depends partly on how many they have. The value of the role also depends on how well-suited the social setting is to the actor.¹⁵¹ Since distinct roles can coexist at the same time, there is a possibility that they might contradict each other. A contradiction among the roles that a state holds will lead to role conflict.

Building upon sociological literature on role conflict, Harnisch suggests four different patterns of role conflict. Role conflict is likely to appear if: (1) role expectations from others are vague or inconsistent; (2) there is a lack of resources to fulfil the role; (3) states face diverging norms and expectations; and (4) there is an incompatibility between the interests of the state and its external expectations in international relations.¹⁵²

We should note that role conflict may not result in a change of state identity. As argued in the previous section, while identity can be a manifestation of a firm and coherent domestic political culture, role conceptions can also be treated as a manifestation of how states maintain their overall biographical narrative. Thus, role conflict is not the outcome of contestation over state identity. Rather, role conflict could be seen as contestation on how the identity should be presented. The concept of role conflict enables students of IR to analyse the potential conflicts between the different roles enacted by a state in manifesting the expectations of others during interactions or the state's self-understanding of roles coming from domestic actors.

In the case of Indonesia, the notion of role conflict provides a nuanced understanding on how the enactment of a certain role conception might be hindered by the enactment of other roles, particularly between a recently enacted role conception and a historical one. For instance, Indonesia's post-authoritarian role conception as an advocate of democracy and human rights norms may be in conflict with its historical role as a

¹⁵¹ Rikard Bengtsson and Ole Elgström, "Conflicting Role Conceptions? The European Union in Global Politics," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 93–108.

¹⁵² Harnisch, "Conceptualizing in the Minefield."

voice for developing countries. This is because the latter role might be operationalised through solidarity with other developing countries that may not adhere to democracy and human rights norms.

However, the role conflict between the two role conceptions does not necessarily change Indonesia's identity as a developing country. Rather, the role conflict shows negotiation and contestation within Indonesian domestic discourse on how the government positioned itself in international level. Thus, the seemingly ambivalent Indonesian foreign policy agenda of democracy promotion can be understood through the notion of role conflict. I will discuss this case in a great detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

In terms of level, two types of conflict may emerge from the enactment of multiple roles, inter-role (conflict between roles) and intra-role conflict (conflict within the role).¹⁵³ Inter-role conflict may occur when states find themselves in two or more competing positions. This contradictory role enactment occurs when one particular role reduces the other's salience.¹⁵⁴ Intra-role conflict can occur when domestic and international audiences contest a particular enactment of a role.¹⁵⁵ While international audiences such as great powers and institutions may have the ability to alter particular roles that states enact, the domestic audiences have more influence in what roles the states enact.¹⁵⁶ Through the concept of role contestation, role theory provides an analytical tool to understand the reluctance of foreign policy elites to enact a particular national role conception in response to disagreement among domestic actors. By analysing inter-role and intra-role conflict, role theory provides a better understanding of how the projection of a particular identity through enacting a specific role might be hindered by conflicts from the other roles.

¹⁵³ Cameron G. Thies, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy*," in *International Studies Association Compendium Project*, 2009.

¹⁵⁴ Harnisch, "Role Theory: Operationalization of Key Concepts."

¹⁵⁵ Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo, "Contested Roles and Domestic Politics: Reflections on Role Theory in Foreign Policy Analysis and IR Theory1," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 5–24.

¹⁵⁶ Marijke Breuning, "Roles and Realities: When and Why Gatekeepers Fail to Change Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 9, no. 3 (July 1, 2013): 307–25; Cameron G. Thies, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis in Latin America," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 2017): 662–81.

To better understand role conflict, we need to focus our attention on the source of expectation itself. In this section, role conflict can be contextualised in terms of the audiences, that it is alter-expectation driven and ego-expectation driven. To further understand this contextualisation, we need to unpack both international and domestic audiences.

Roles are partly generated from the expectations of international audiences, which could cover vast numbers of actors with different ordering principles. So far, the application of role conflict within IR scholarship is situated within the literature on international institutions, which can be broadly defined as ‘general pattern or categorisation of activity’ and ‘a particular human-constructed arrangement, formally or informally organised’.¹⁵⁷

Given that roles are primarily generated by membership in particular institutions, role conflict may appear where ‘the actor exists in two different institutions that simultaneously demand that it express contradictory behaviour’.¹⁵⁸ Drawing heavily from symbolic interactionist theory, which puts more emphasis on the agency, Harnisch further clarifies alter expectations by distinguishing them as tangible actors. States, or international organisations, are seen as the leading socialising agent to the self (significant others) and more abstract terms such as democracy or human rights as generalised others.¹⁵⁹

I advance the application of role conflict within IR scholarship by arguing that it should also consider the different levels of international audiences, both regional and global. By doing so, conflict not only occurs due to different expectations between domestic and international institutions but also due to incongruent role enactment at regional and global levels. The need to substantiate role conceptions at these two different levels is important given that the state behaves differently due to dynamics that occur at both levels. For emerging middle powers, the difference between regional and global are significant. This is particularly true for states that are not considered

¹⁵⁷ Robert Keohane O, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 47.

¹⁵⁸ Barnett, “Institutions, Roles, and Disorder,” 276.

¹⁵⁹ Harnisch, “‘Dialogue and Emergence’ George Herbert Mead’s Contribution to Role Theory and His Reconstruction of International Politics.”

superpowers, which have wide-ranging interests and massive capabilities that the distinction between regional and global may be less compelling.¹⁶⁰ As argued by Lake, the ordering principles of international relations may vary widely across regions and thus create distinctive regional orders.¹⁶¹ Therefore, arguably, this also affects how states conceptualise and perform roles at the regional and global level.

The source of role conflict due to the difference at the regional and global level can be attributed to three conditions. First, there are different material constraints between the levels which prevent the state from incorporating alter expectations into their role conceptualisation. Second, there is the structural difference between regional order and global order, which structurally affects the expectations and patterns of behaviour of the state. Third, there is the difference in the degree of norm diffusion, which then affects the degree of performance of roles.

The literature on regional order has established that the end of the Cold War created space for states to actively participate and become willing to play a more significant role in the international system.¹⁶² As suggested by Hurrell, due to proximity and the limitations of power projection, either through normative or material capabilities, states are more likely to maintain influence in their respective regional order.¹⁶³ Moreover, the states are more likely to engage in interaction that shapes their roles preferences at the regional level, over the global level, given that such interaction may have more meaning to the states. This incentivises states to treat the region as an arena for a more significant interaction, in which alter and ego expectations are more likely to be incorporated into role conceptions.

Secondly, the structural difference between regional and global order may also lead to disparity in how the state responds to the expectations of the audience. This may be

¹⁶⁰ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 46.

¹⁶¹ David A. Lake, "Regional Hierarchy: Authority and Local International Order," *Review of International Studies* 35, no. S1 (February 2009): 35–58.

¹⁶² Miriam Prys, "Hegemony, Domination, Detachment: Differences in Regional Powerhood," *International Studies Review* 12, no. 4 (December 1, 2010): 479–504; Andrew Hurrell, "Regional Powers and the Global System from a Historical Perspective," in *Regional Leadership in the Global System: Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers*, ed. Daniel Flesmes (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013).

¹⁶³ Hurrell, "Regional Powers and the Global System from a Historical Perspective," 20.

due to different actors that dominate the regional and global order.¹⁶⁴ For instance, the proliferation and strengthening of regional institutions after the Cold War has provided a new arena for small and medium-sized state to play a greater role at the regional level. While globalisation has created a more interdependent world, the difference in the arrangement of regional institutions may create a different set of social settings for states to enact roles. This could also be attributed to a different level of institutionalisation that takes place within global and regional levels. Thus, arguably the behaviour of the states may be also different at regional and global levels due to the different expectations towards them at both levels.

The third condition is the difference in norm diffusion between regional and global levels. It has been widely studied that the degree of norm diffusion and the way states respond at the global level may differ with response at the regional level.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the norm being adhered to may also differ. This is because a region is not only defined in terms of geographic contiguity but also in terms of collective identities or normative underpinning internalised within the region. For instance, within regional orders in the Global South, the notion of sovereignty with its norm of non-interference has become the most critical aspect of the interaction of states. On the contrary, at the global level, there is softening of the traditional understanding of sovereignty that leads to normalising international intervention.¹⁶⁶ Hence, there is a disparity in the widening normative scope and deepening normative scope, which in turn may provide different expectations of the state.

Besides, a regional level could be a dynamic arena for contesting, resisting, localising and accepting norms that are widely accepted at the global level.¹⁶⁷ This is particularly true for regional order outside of the Western world where liberal norms are contested

¹⁶⁴ Luk Van Langenhove, *Building Regions: The Regionalization of the World Order* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013).

¹⁶⁵ Jochen Prantl and Ryoko Nakano, "Global Norm Diffusion in East Asia: How China and Japan Implement the Responsibility to Protect," *International Relations* 25, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 204–23; Etel Solingen, "Of Dominoes and Firewalls: The Domestic, Regional, and Global Politics of International Diffusion," *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (n.d.): 631–44.; Amitav Acharya, "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism," *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (April 2004): 239–75.

¹⁶⁶ Amitav Acharya, "The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics," *World Politics* 59, no. 4 (2007): 629–52.

¹⁶⁷ Amitav Acharya, "Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders: Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Rule-Making in the Third World," *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2011): 95–123.

before being diffused. When the region has a strong presence of regional institutions that could also serve as actors in a mediating role between global norm entrepreneurs, by providing a different set of social interactions for the states in the region.¹⁶⁸ This is without mentioning the emergence of regional advocacy networks that may more successfully emulating particular norms than at the global level. This is due to an institutional density of regional advocacy that has an impact on the effectiveness of networks in diffusing norms.¹⁶⁹ This, in turn, affects the degree to which states react and incorporate the alter expectations.

In the context of Southeast Asia, ASEAN has become an arena for contesting, resisting, localising and accepting Western norms widely accepted at the global level. In the case of human rights norms, there is a tendency for Southeast Asian countries to rhetorically pursue a liberal agenda within ASEAN.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, as suggested by Davies, despite a growing number of global human rights treaty ratifications by Southeast Asia, some states have reservations and resistance when it comes to implementing such treaties.¹⁷¹ Clearly this shows the different dynamics at play between regional and global levels that lead to different states' behaviour.

Drawing upon the discussion above, there are two types of role conflict stemming from differences between regional and global levels. The first type appears when one particular role manifests differently at regional and global levels. In this case, foreign policymakers face a different audience with a mismatched set of norms giving a distinct meaning to the role. As a result, the roles being enacted might be the same, but the performance and rhetoric might be different. The second type of role conflict appears where one particular role is highly performed and treated as a part of state identity at one level but is contested and utterly disregarded in the other level. Thus, where the enactment of one particular role could be a manifestation of state identity at one level but a potential threat to country's core interest at the other.

¹⁶⁸ David Capie, "Localization as Resistance: The Contested Diffusion of Small Arms Norms in Southeast Asia," *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 6 (2008): 637–658.

¹⁶⁹ Jochen Prantl and Ryoko Nakano, "Global Norm Diffusion in East Asia: How China and Japan Implement the Responsibility to Protect," *International Relations* 25, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 204–23.

¹⁷⁰ Hiro Katsumata, "ASEAN and Human Rights: Resisting Western Pressure or Emulating the West?," *The Pacific Review* 22, no. 5 (November 3, 2009): 619–37.

¹⁷¹ Mathew Davies, "States of Compliance?: Global Human Rights Treaties and ASEAN Member States," *Journal of Human Rights* 13, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 414–33.

Role conflict and state transformation

Having unpacked international audiences into two distinct levels and how their differences may lead to role conflict, I turn my discussion on unpacking domestic audiences. Role conflict could also be conceptualised as an outcome of domestic contestation stemming from a disagreement within domestic actors on what roles the state should play. Growing literature on role theory in IR has addressed the issue.¹⁷² Furthermore, while ego as well as alter expectations are important in the construction of role conceptions, they are primarily assumed as stable and unitary actors that represent the self within the society of states. As argued by Cantir and Kaarbo, since the incorporation of the sociological role theory approach in understanding states' behaviour, the role theory literature in IR tends to black-box the state and treat it as a unified actor.¹⁷³ This is because of the prevalence of structural approach in International Relations that ignores the dynamic process within the state.¹⁷⁴

The assumption of the unitary ego creates a parsimonious understanding of role theory in International Relations. In reality, this assumption cannot hold true in democratised states where the making of a role conception involves not only policymakers but other domestic actors. This condition has made it impossible to rule out domestic audiences' influence on role conceptualisations. Hence, role conceptions articulated by policymakers are often contested domestically.

Domestic role contestation may appear when role conceptions enacted by foreign policymakers are not widely supported by domestic audiences, including political parties, significant non-governmental organisations, bureaucratic agencies, and public opinion. Drawing from foreign policy analysis, Cantir and Kaarbo have provided a general overview of role conflict emerging from domestic contestation. Role contestation can occur from a disagreement between governing elites and political

¹⁷² For further discussion please see Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo, eds., *Domestic Role Contestation, Foreign Policy, and International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁷³ Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo, "Unpacking Ego in Role Theory: Vertical and Horizontal Role Contestation and Foreign Policy," in *Domestic Role Contestation, Foreign Policy, and International Relations*, ed. Cristian Cantir and Juliet Kaarbo (New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁷⁴ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2010).

opposition, among multi-party coalitions, in small groups and leader-advisory relations, and across bureaucratic agencies.¹⁷⁵ In this thesis, I aim to contribute the discussion on domestic-driven role conflict, caused by disagreement across bureaucratic agencies, by engaging with the literature on state transformation.

For this thesis, the state transformation approach is one that assumes that states are institutional apparatuses developed by historically evolving conflicts among socio-political forces ranging from classes and class fractions, ethnic and religious groupings, and state-based actors, etc. These conflicts, which reflect past struggles to (re)structure states, systematically favor certain interests and agendas.¹⁷⁶ Much of the literature engaging with this state transformation agenda is found in ‘Murdoch school’ writings that specifically focus on how this process is fundamentally linked to capitalist developmentalism and class formation/factionalism.¹⁷⁷ This thesis differs from such dominant understandings of state transformation by broadening the understanding of conflict within the state to also include ethnic and religious groupings and state-based actors with different interests and agendas (as suggested by other literatures).¹⁷⁸ By doing so, the state transformation approach can also explain how contestation shapes not just domestic or economic governance, but also in other realms of foreign policy agenda making such as human rights.

As established by many studies, many emerging middle powers from the Global South can be characterised as undergoing transformation from within.¹⁷⁹ The state

¹⁷⁵ Cantir and Kaarbo, *Domestic Role Contestation, Foreign Policy, and International Relations*.

¹⁷⁶ Bob Jessop, *State Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

¹⁷⁷ See Shahar Hameiri, “Theorising Regions through Changes in Statehood: Rethinking the Theory and Method of Comparative Regionalism,” *Review of International Studies* 39, no. 2 (April 2013): 313–35; Priya Chacko and Kanishka Jayasuriya, “A Capitalising Foreign Policy: Regulatory Geographies and Transnationalised State Projects,” *European Journal of International Relations*, March 21, 2017.

¹⁷⁸ Joel S. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge University Press, 2001); Peter J. Katzenstein, “International Relations and Domestic Structures: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States,” *International Organization* 30, no. 1 (ed 1976): 1–45, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300003726>; Lee Jones, “Theorising Foreign and Security Policy amid State Transformation,” *Journal of Global Security Studies* Forthcoming (2018).

¹⁷⁹ Eduard Jordaan, “The Concept of a Middle Power in International Relations: Distinguishing between Emerging and Traditional Middle Powers,” *Politikon* 30, no. 1 (May 1, 2003): 165–81; Matthew D. Stephen, “Rising Powers, Global Capitalism and Liberal Global Governance: A Historical Materialist Account of the BRICs Challenge,” *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 912–38; Janis Van Der Westhuizen, “South Africa’s Emergence as a Middle Power,” *Third World Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1998): 435–55.

transformation process may broaden the range of internationalised actors involved in the foreign, security, and economic relations, as well as fragmenting the strict coherent Weberian notion of the state. Three primary processes have been identified that constitute state transformation: a further fragmentation of the state, decentralisation of state power, and internationalisation of state agencies that directly deal with international issues. Thus, as put by Hameiri and Jones, state transformation would create a condition in which:

Different state apparatuses, allied with different nonstate forces, may well pursue different, even contradictory, agendas and be differentially integrated into transnational economic and security regimes. Central authorities may have difficulty coordinating these various elements, making their state's 'rise' potentially conflict-ridden and difficult for outsiders to interpret.¹⁸⁰

Moreover, as Jayasuriya put it, state transformation has led to:

the breakdown of traditional diplomatic domains and activities but also the creation of *new actors, new arenas, and new fields of diplomatic activity*... [Foreign ministries are] increasingly unable to act authoritatively on behalf of various domestic agencies, which not only have a degree of institutional autonomy but also may have [different] diplomatic agendas... just as public power is fragmented so are diplomatic functions, which are now not just concentrated in a traditional Ministry of Foreign Affairs but dispersed among a wide array of independent sites of public power.¹⁸¹

In the case of Indonesia, the three processes have transformed the state. The most important characteristic of the Indonesian state in the post-authoritarian regime is decentralisation. The decentralisation resulted in district and municipal governments holding a near majority of the authority in their territory. Political and fiscal

¹⁸⁰ Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones, "Rising Powers and State Transformation: The Case of China," *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 2016): 80.

¹⁸¹ "Breaking the 'Westphalian' Frame: Regulatory State, Fragmentation and Diplomacy," Discussion Papers in Diplomacy (Clingendael, January 2004), 39, 42.

decentralisation processes left the central government with few responsibilities, namely security and defence, foreign policy, justice and religious affairs.¹⁸²

Besides decentralisation, in the post-authoritarian era the Indonesian state has fragmented further due to the absence of the ordering principle built by Suharto's authoritarian regime, which put the regime above society. According to Aspinall, on a political level, fragmentation appears due to the democratisation process creating 'a marketplace of potential patrons and enabling them to compete with one another without being constrained by a supreme patriarch, as they were under Suharto'.¹⁸³ Thus, within a democratic landscape, each particular bureaucratic agency within the state can be mobilised by political and economic elites to influence overall state policy to benefits their agendas. This sometimes results in incoherent policy on particular issues.

Lastly, the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime also led to the reorganisation of state and market relations. As argued by Robinson and Hadiz, the predatory state under Suharto's regime was able to survive and accommodate the neoliberal agenda of the global market.¹⁸⁴ Thus, despite undergoing neoliberal reform, Indonesia's economic outlook still shows its predatory character, where the illiberal mode of economic governance still triumphs through the cemented clientelist networks.¹⁸⁵

In the case of a state undergoing transformation, the state may have different focal points for the different transnational issues being discussed: such as security, trade, finance, environment, and developmental aid. This may add an additional source of role conflict. While indeed, there might be synchronisation and coordination among state apparatuses, in practice, the roles taken by particular state agencies may not line up those being enacted by foreign policymakers. Unlike state identity that may well be represented without any conflict arising from state transformation role conception

¹⁸² Michael Buehler, "Decentralisation and Local Democracy in Indonesia: The Marginalisation of the Public Sphere," in *Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions and Society*, ed. Edward Aspinall and Marcus Mietzner (ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2010), <https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/624453>; Adam D. Tyson, *Decentralization and Adat Revivalism in Indonesia: The Politics of Becoming Indigenous* (Routledge, 2010).

¹⁸³ Edward Aspinall, "A Nation in Fragments," *Critical Asian Studies* 45, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 27–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2013.758820>.

¹⁸⁴ Vedi Hadiz and Richard Robison, *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁸⁵ Aspinall, "A Nation in Fragments."

could be affected by the state enacting multiple roles. This provides a malleable condition for state agencies to enact different roles at the same time.

Drawing from literature on state transformation, I focus specifically on the second aspect of state transformation, that is, the fragmentation of the state. Building upon such premise, role conflict appears in three stages. The first stage of role conflict may occur due to the fragmentation of the state, which enables different bureaucratic agencies to conceptualise their role with greater power to represent the state in the international arena. In this stage, the contestation emerges at the beginning of the conceptualisation of the role. Each state agency has the same amount of authority in their respective scope of transnational issues, which creates a strong but contradictory standpoint that may be difficult to interpret for both international and domestic audiences.

In the second stage, role conflict may appear where conceptualisation of roles by one particular state bureaucratic agency is contested and even resisted by another state agency. This contestation is due to different international objectives stemming from different domestic objectives that need to be fulfilled to sustain a particular domestic constituency. The contestation is likely to weaken the role conception to the point where the conceptualisation by one particular agency is vague, and enactment is constrained. The vagueness of the conceptualisation is a deliberate move to reduce further contestation from other state agencies.

In the third stage, in the event that contestation has been won by a particular bureaucratic agency, the role has been implemented and enacted within an international arena where another agency has more power to represent the state. However, the enactment of the roles through international commitment have not traversed into domestic policies due to the reluctance of another agency to implement such commitment. This has created a rhetoric-performance gap between commitment made at the international level and policy taken at the domestic level.

Table 2.1 Degree of domestic-driven role conflict

No	The degree of domestic-driven role conflict	Condition	Outcome
1	Two equal roles produced	Each agency devises and enacts roles in their respective arenas	Strong contradictory standpoints held by the state that are difficult interpret for both international and domestic audience
2	Contested dominant role	Roles are crafted by one agency while the others resist enactment of the roles	Vague conceptualisation of roles
3	One role dominates the other	Roles are crafted and enacted by one agency while other agencies follow with some caveats	Rhetoric-performance gap between commitments made at the international level and policy at the domestic level.

Source: Author

Role legitimization and domestic contestation

The discussion above shows how role conflict could emerge due to the different natures of international audiences that make the state agency articulate different role conceptions at the regional and global levels. Furthermore, the nature of an emerging middle power that undergoes state transformation enables the state apparatus to enact their conceptualisation of roles, which affects how international audiences interpret the state's role conceptions. As shown in the previous discussion on role conflict, domestic contestation may lead to role conflict. The question is, how does state agency represented by government resolve domestic role contestation? To answer this, we need to examine the extent to which roles being enacted relate to perceived legitimacy.

This section aims to develop a new concept to help analyse how government resolves potential role contestation from domestic audiences.

To reduce the domestic role contestation while still subscribing to ego and alter expectations, the state agency, particularly the Minister of Foreign Affairs, may need to legitimise their role conceptions to domestic audiences. Surprisingly, the discussion on policymakers' need to legitimise their role conceptions and enactments remains relatively unexplored within role theory literature. This thesis suggests the notion of role legitimation to capture this process. Role legitimation can be defined as a social process in which policymakers aim to avoid the likelihood of domestic contestation by strategically justifying their enactment of role conceptions for reluctant domestic audiences.

Building upon literature on ontological security and norm diffusion, this thesis puts forward two social mechanisms through which role legitimation is performed. The first is reframing the historical role of the state from a specific period, while the second is reproducing alter expectations in domestic political discourse.

The first mechanism focuses on how historical experience affects the salience of particular roles. Policymakers might invoke certain historical experiences to legitimise their foreign policy agenda, warranting societal acceptance.¹⁸⁶ The process is called historical self-identification. Harnisch argues that historical self-identification might be related to role salience. While states have multiple roles, each role may have different salience.¹⁸⁷ As suggested by many social psychologists, roles are hierarchically organised by the likelihood of action being taken from that role.¹⁸⁸ Arguably, historical roles are more likely to be at the top of the hierarchy and consequently are more likely to be re-enacted due to strong self-identification with past experience.

¹⁸⁶ Vít Beneš and Sebastian Harnisch, "Role Theory in Symbolic Interactionism: Czech Republic, Germany and the EU," *Cooperation and Conflict* 50, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 146–65.

¹⁸⁷ Harnisch, "Role Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy," in *China's International Roles: Challenging or Supporting International Order?*, ed. Sebastian Harnisch, Sebastian Bersick, and Jörn-Carsten Gottwald (New York: Routledge, 2016), 3–21.

¹⁸⁸ Stryker and Burke, "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory."

The historical experiences from a specific period may be attributed to the most common well-accepted understanding of states' role that is widely championed by domestic audiences. As a consequence, foreign policymakers need to make reference to specific historical roles which domestic audiences understand need to be revived. Thus, enacting historical roles from critical periods to pursue a particular status would reduce domestic contestation.

The reason for this is two-fold. First, historical reference has been widely established as a powerful tool for political discourse due to its ability to create a sense of identity through sustaining collective memory. As previously discussed in the section regarding ontological security, role conceptions could be a reflection of 'collective memory' being built and sustained by the government through foreign policy rhetoric. Second, the historical roles constructed in the early formative years of the state are an inalienable historical feature of the state. This is because it is usually enshrined as myth, which used by nationalists, to simplify, dramatise and selectively narrate the story of a nation's past and its place in the world, a story that elucidates its contemporary meaning through (re)constructing its past.¹⁸⁹ Historical reference then provides a compelling narrative for the government to utilise for their foreign policy agenda.

Given that states' national role conception can be traced back to early or formative experiences, which may shape the role conceptions in the years to come,¹⁹⁰ the state could make coherent sense of itself over time and thus create a sense of continuity of roles by invoking historical roles. The sense of continuity of current roles conception with the historical roles would be necessary for reducing domestic contestation. This is because the emergence of new role conceptions provides an opportunity for domestic actors to scrutinise it.

Although the historical roles might be revived and continued, the enactment of such do not necessarily have the same objective. Some historical roles would not serve the same purpose as the roles that are currently being enacted. This is due to a different

¹⁸⁹ Duncan S. A. Bell, "Mythscape: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity," *The British Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 75.

¹⁹⁰ Bülent Aras and Aylin Gorener, "National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policy Orientation: The Ideational Bases of the Justice and Development Party's Foreign Policy Activism in the Middle East," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 73–92.

period that may have a different ego, as well as alter expectations which lead to a different set of objectives for the enactment of such roles. In other words, the meaning of the historical roles is redefined for a particular objective that suits the current situation.

The second mechanism captures how policymakers justify the creation of role conceptions to accommodate the alter expectations by reproducing them in domestic political discourse. Reproducing alter expectations can also be seen in what Thies calls the role location process.¹⁹¹ The role location process is ‘where role expectations of the self and other, role demands of the situation, and cues from the audience all come together to produce a role for the actor and set the conditions for its appropriate enactment’.¹⁹² In general, the role location refers to a process where the international actors locate a suitable role for particular states in the system. I prefer to call this process as role localisation rather than role location process. As defined by Acharya, localisation is a process in which foreign ideas have been translated into indigenous traditions and practices.¹⁹³ While the role location process seems to emphasise how the international structure forces the state respond to the alter expectation, role localisation focuses on how a role is negotiated and mobilised for domestic audiences.

In her study on Turkish policy towards the EU, Hintz argued that foreign policy may be used by elites as an arena for contesting state identity when their proposed identity is blocked at the domestic level.¹⁹⁴ However, the reverse might also be true for the case of Indonesia, in which norm and identity from outside that is less likely to be accepted within the domestic realm, can be localised in the foreign policy arena through the enactment of roles. Therefore, role localisation could also be a strategy employed by an agency of the state to provide evidence of the norm localisation despite the norm not being fully embraced. However, through role localisation, expected norms can be seen by outsiders as if it was accepted.

¹⁹¹ Cameron G. Thies, “International Socialization Processes vs. Israeli National Role Conceptions: Can Role Theory Integrate IR Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis?,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 25–46.

¹⁹² Thies, 29.

¹⁹³ Amitav Acharya, “How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism,” *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (April 2004): 239–75.

¹⁹⁴ Lisel Hintz, “‘Take It Outside!’ National Identity Contestation in the Foreign Policy Arena,” *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 2 (June 1, 2016): 335–61.

Furthermore, foreign policymakers take alter expectations into account by reproducing them as the inherent social qualities that need to be projected abroad. Foreign policymakers create a case for projecting these qualities as a way to enhance government's domestic political objectives. By doing so, the incorporation of alter expectations into role conception is less likely to be seen as state submitting to the pressure from other foreign actors. Rather, foreign policymakers do this as a domestic imperative. As a result, the foreign policy establishment can legitimise the enactment of particular roles driven by alter expectation without creating domestic contestation.

By incorporating Acharya's notion of norm localisation, reproducing alter expectations could also be a mechanism in which policymakers develop a particular domestic norm in line with alter expectations while reducing the possibility of contestation by a domestic audience. In this case, policymakers localise the expectations, as if they are inherently part of the domestic norm by making alter expectations more congruent with the domestic audiences' prior beliefs and practices.

Furthermore, reproducing alter expectations can also be a strategy for foreign policymakers to utilise them for domestic political purposes. Borrowing from Moravcsik's lock-in argument,¹⁹⁵ foreign policymakers try to legitimise a certain alter expectation by locking-in the expectation as an instrument to keep particular societal values from being contested domestically. Thus, enacting a particular role conception, the current government aims to not only fulfil alter expectation but also utilise it as a strategic instrument to frame contested values as an inherent quality of the current domestic political environment.

The notion of role legitimation developed above can explain how foreign policymakers from emerging middle powers such as Indonesia legitimise their enactment of role conceptions. As a country from the Global South, foreign policy has not been seen as a priority in Indonesia compared to other domestic issues. This condition provides flexibility for foreign policymakers to incorporate alter expectations that may not align with the expectation from domestic audiences.

¹⁹⁵ Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (October 1997): 513–53.

In the case of Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy and human rights, through the role legitimisation process, foreign policymakers can legitimise the role despite the existence of contestation over the underlying norm of such role conception. The notion of role legitimisation can also explain how Indonesia could enact the role as a regional leader in the regional trade governance that required it to agree to further liberalisation of its economy despite substantial domestic contestation.

Conclusion

This chapter has established the theoretical framework for the analysis of empirical materials in the following historical chapter and four empirical chapters. Role theory mobilised in this thesis focuses on how states behave based on their respective social identities and situation manifested through roles. By synthesising both structural and symbolic interactionist role theory scholarship, there are two main processes through which roles are constructed. These are, ego understanding of the self (ego expectation) and other expectation of the self (alter expectation).¹⁹⁶ This enables us to comprehensively analyse the state's foreign policy by combining structural-driven and agency-level analysis.

There are three main contributions that this chapter puts forward in advancing role theory literature. Firstly, the chapter has incorporated the literature on identity theory and ontological security in the discussion on role theory literature. In doing so, it has situated the notion of roles not only as a crucial part of identity as suggested by identity theory but also as a part of efforts to maintain states' biographical narrative, as suggested by ontological security literature. By linking roles with states' biographical narrative, it sheds lights on the salience and continuity of roles throughout the time.

Secondly, international audiences and domestic audiences are unpacked in order to further advance the application of role conflict within IR scholarship. This chapter has shown, at a great length, how role conflict would provide us with a nuanced understanding of states' behaviour by juxtaposing two different levels of the ordering

¹⁹⁶ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (University of Chicago Press, 2009); Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism*.

principle, the global and the regional. Moreover, the incorporation of state transformation literature into the discussion of domestic audience enables us to develop three processes of domestic contestation that emerge from a disagreement between state agencies.

Lastly, this chapter has developed a new concept within the literature on role theory, role legitimisation, to understand how a state agency legitimises role conception towards potential contestation from domestic political actors. The chapter that follows will substantiate how roles can be a reflection of state's biographical narrative, by looking at the change and continuity of Indonesia's role conception since its independence in 1945.

Chapter 3

The making of biographical narrative: the evolution of Indonesia's role conceptions

Introduction

This chapter examines the changes in and continuity of Indonesia's national role conceptions by analysing the historical context of the country's foreign policy since its independence in 1945. Doing so also allows us to understand why some of Indonesia's current roles, which were constructed decades ago, are still profoundly entrenched, while some newly constructed ones are quickly ignored. It should be noted that this chapter does not aim to provide a comprehensive account of Indonesia's history. Rather, it provides a glimpse of a truncated version of history that serves the interests of foreign policy elites in Jakarta. This is because, as I have stated in the introductory chapter, the notion of role conception emphasises foreign policy-makers' *perceptions* of their states' position in the international system.

This chapter contends that changes in ego and alter expectations are significant to the construction of Indonesia's role conceptions. Domestic political changes drive ego expectations while the changes in the international system cause alter expectations. However, despite the domestic political changes, Indonesia's historical role conceptions are hardly abandoned. Instead, role conceptions enacted from previous regimes are merely reframed and recast with different objectives. This chapter further argues that the continuity of role conceptions could be attributed to the need for a post-colonial state like Indonesia to have a sense of stable identity. This chapter thus asserts that role conceptions have become an articulation of Indonesia's biographical narrative, which once incepted, needs to be sustained as a part of biographical continuity.

Overall, this chapter conceptualises Indonesia's national role conceptions under President Yudhoyono into four overarching roles that can be distinguished based on their target audience; (1) the role as a voice for developing countries, which is the representation of Indonesia's interest as a part of the developing world; (2) the role as a regional leader, which represents Indonesia's material and geographical positions;

(3) the role as a bridge-builder, which serves Indonesia's growing interest in being a moderating voice amid different actors in the international community; (4) and the role as an advocate of democratic and human rights norms, an articulation of Indonesia's aspiration to become a norm entrepreneur in the international system.

The remainder of the chapter is organised around three time periods. The periodisation is determined by the fundamental changes within Indonesia's domestic political environment, namely the communist purge in 1965 and the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998. The first period started in 1950, a year after the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia, which culminated during Sukarno's guided democracy in the early to mid-1960s. The second period began with the purge of Indonesian communists in 1965, which lasted until the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998. The third period started in 1999 during the democratisation. Discussion on the third period will be divided into two sub-periods. The first is the early reform period from 1999 to 2004, a time of consolidating Indonesia's democratic transition. The second is the period of consolidated democracy started by the leadership of President Yudhoyono.

The next section examines the construction of Indonesia's role conception as a voice for developing countries and how Sukarno's regime enacted this during the Cold War period. The third section investigates the persistence of the role, and how it has been framed to create an auxiliary role as an advocate of country development. This section also examines the emergence of Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader and how Suharto's regime enacted that role. The fourth section discusses the genesis of Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy and bridge-builder in the post-authoritarian period. The fifth section analyses the enactment of the four overarching role conceptions by Yudhoyono's administration.

Indonesia's role conceptions under Sukarno's leadership (1949 – 1965)

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, the literature on role theory establishes that a state's national role conception can be traced back to the early formative experiences,

of the state, which shape the role conceptions in the years to come.¹⁹⁷ The historical narrative of a state's formative experience can also be invoked by policymakers to legitimise their strategic choices to enact specific roles while avoiding domestic contestation. While Indonesia's assertion to play a greater role at the global level might have been firmly established during President Yudhoyono's leadership, the underlying vision of this ambition can be traced back to the legacies of the early era, right after Indonesia gained its independence. Thus, it is not surprising that current policymakers always invoke the historical idea of revitalising Indonesia's rightful position, just like when it was actively involved at the global level in the early years of independence.

At the beginning of its sovereignty, Indonesia was plagued by poverty. Lacking the resources to project its foreign policy, it was deemed as one of the underdeveloped countries. However, this did not stop the founding fathers envisioning Indonesia as a global leader. Like many other post-colonial states, Indonesia's independence was the result of a political, diplomatic, and military struggle against colonialism.¹⁹⁸ The spirit of anti-colonialism is preserved in the Indonesian Constitution: 'Independence is the inalienable right of all nations, and therefore colonialism must be erased from the face of the earth because it is incompatible with conditions of humanity and justice'.¹⁹⁹ As argued by Roeslan Abdulgani, Indonesia's vision of a world without colonialism can only be achieved through active involvement in pushing for a new pattern of world order that favours the oppressed.²⁰⁰ The vision of Indonesia's role in international order can be seen from the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution, which says that the objective of the Indonesian state is 'to participate in maintaining world order based on freedom, lasting peace, and social justice'.²⁰¹

Since its early formative experiences, Indonesia's aspiring role as a global player has been pursued through the enactment of its role as a voice for developing countries against colonialism. Indonesia's first effort to take on this role began with hosting and

¹⁹⁷ Aras and Gorener, "National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policy Orientation."

¹⁹⁸ George McT Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

¹⁹⁹ "The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia: Préambule," 1945.

²⁰⁰ Roeslan Abdulgani, "Indonesia's National Council: The First Year," *Far Eastern Survey* 27, no. 7 (1958): 97–104.

²⁰¹ "The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia: Préambule."

organising what is illustriously remembered as ‘the first intercontinental conference of coloured peoples in the history of mankind’.²⁰² The Asian-African Conference, widely known as the Bandung Conference, was held in 1955 and is now a landmark in the history of International Relations. At the conference, Asian and African countries that had recently undergone the process of decolonisation gathered for the first time to discuss the arrangement of the new world order.²⁰³ Organising such an event was not without its hurdles given that the world was highly divided between the US and the Soviet Union’s spheres of influence. Many countries like India and China were surprised that Indonesia could persuade 29 countries, comprising half of the world’s population, to attend the conference given its limited diplomatic resources.²⁰⁴

Despite being woefully neglected by the mainstream literature of International Relations, the Asian-African Conference, without a doubt, shaped the course of international politics for the entire Cold War era. Although it was seen as an anti-Western gathering, the Conference was a hallmark for the articulation of human rights, as well as the advancement of national independence throughout Asia and Africa.²⁰⁵

The idea for the Conference can be traced back to the initiative taken by the Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) Premier John Kotelawela that invited four other newly independent Asian states to the Colombo Meeting in 1954. At the time, the idea was to unite the voice of Asia, to be heard in the councils of the world, particularly in the United Nations (UN). Thus, in the beginning, the idea of the conference was more about regionalism. It was Indonesia’s Prime Minister, Ali Sastroamijoyo, who had the wider vision of an Afro-Asian meeting in anti-colonial solidarity.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Sukarno, “Let a New Asia and New Africa Be Born: Speech of H.E. President Sukarno at the Opening of the Asian-African Conference, 18th April 1955” (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, 1955).

²⁰³ See Seng Tan and Amitav Acharya, *Bandung Revisited: The Legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference for International Order* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008).

²⁰⁴ Amitav Acharya, *The Making of Southeast Asia: International Relations of a Region*, Cornell Studies in Political Economy (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).

²⁰⁵ Amitav Acharya, “Who Are the Norm Makers? The Asian-African Conference in Bandung and the Evolution of Norms,” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 20, no. 3 (July 1, 2014): 405–17.

²⁰⁶ Anthony Reid, “The Bandung Conference and Southeast Asian Regionalism,” in *Bandung Revisited: The Legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference for International Order*, ed. See Seng Tan and Amitav Acharya (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008).

During this period, Indonesia did not intend to be a regional leader. As a result, creating a regional institution and cooperation was mostly neglected during Sukarno's presidency.²⁰⁷ In fact, it was the Federation of Malaya²⁰⁸ and the Philippines, led by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and President Carlos P. Garcia respectively, that conceived of creating a regional grouping in early 1959. Sukarno did not support their idea. To enhance cooperation, then Indonesian foreign minister, Subandrio, declared his government's preference for bilateral agreements rather than regional ones.²⁰⁹ Thailand responded positively to this idea. These three countries went on to create Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) in 1961.²¹⁰ As argued by Anthony Reid, there are two main reasons why Indonesia did not pursue creating regional cooperation. First, Indonesian foreign policy elites at the time believed that it would be through an alliance of Asian and African states that the voice of developing countries could be heard. Secondly, Indonesia's nationalist elites at the time saw ideological alignment as more important than geographical proximity, when establishing deeper cooperation.²¹¹

At the beginning, Indonesia's aspiration to take the role as the voice of developing countries in the bipolar world was translated into a more neutral tone, which engaged both the Western and Eastern Bloc. However, Indonesia's approach towards the international order changed slightly over time to be more revisionist and revolutionary, and closer to the Eastern Bloc. From 1950 to late 1957, Indonesia's stance towards US-led liberal order was characterised as non-confrontational. The domestic politics played an important role in this outcome. During this period, Indonesia could be characterised as a liberal parliamentary democracy, in which foreign policy was driven by political parties in charge of the Cabinet. Thus, arguably, Sukarno's anti-Western point of view might have had less impact on Indonesian foreign policy.

²⁰⁷ Reid.

²⁰⁸ In 1963, the Federation was reconstituted as 'Malaysia' when it federated with the British territories of Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo.

²⁰⁹ Nicholas Tarling, "From SEAFET and ASA: Precursors of ASEAN," *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* 3, no. 1 (May 2007): 1–14.

²¹⁰ Vincent K. Pollard, "ASA and ASEAN, 1961-1967: Southeast Asian Regionalism," *Asian Survey* 10, no. 3 (1970): 244–55, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2642577>.

²¹¹ Reid, "The Bandung Conference and Southeast Asian Regionalism."

The declaration of martial law abolished parliamentary government in 1959, denoting the second part of Sukarno's regime would be left-leaning and authoritarian. During this period, Indonesia's national role conception was starting to be characterised by a more revisionist and confrontational approach towards US-led global governance. This was seen in Indonesia's increasingly critical approach towards the UN. President Sukarno's major address delivered before the 15th United Nations General Assembly session entitled 'To Build the World Anew' in 1960, can still be interpreted as part of Indonesia's aspirational national role as a voice for developing countries in mediating the conflict between Western and Eastern Bloc. In implementation, however, Indonesia's international position shifted to lean towards the Eastern Bloc. A year later, in his speech in front of the UNGA, Indonesian foreign minister Dr. Subandrio elucidated Sukarno's revolutionary idea by stating:

We are revolutionary in thought and in action. We must be, to catch up with developments and to emancipate ourselves socially and economically after centuries of omission and domination. While we do not expect others, who do not share our urgency and need, to share our revolutionary approach within their particular national sphere. We do ask everyone to look at the world as one of transition, convulsed with revolutionary outlook—and if not to accept it, then to understand it. At least do not obstruct this process of emancipation towards a new world order.²¹²

In this speech, it is clear that the Indonesian government had fully incorporated Sukarno's revolutionary ideas. Hence, in the early 1960s, Indonesia's role enactment as the voice for developing countries in the bipolar world gradually shifted to become more revisionist and revolutionary. The revolutionary idea from Sukarno can be seen from its distinction of new emerging forces (NEFOs) and old established forces (OLDEFOs). NEFOs were defined as a group of progressive post-colonial countries. However, later on, this also included the Eastern Bloc countries. NEFOs can be seen as Indonesia and the communist and socialist countries while the OLDEFOs were seen as the Western Bloc. Thus, under Sukarno's regime in the early 1960s, Indonesia was unofficially allied with communist and socialist states. The immediate implementation

²¹² Soebandrio, "Indonesia: Speech on UNGA 16th Session Plenary Meeting, 9 October 1961." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, October 9, 1961).

of this new policy began with improvement in Indonesia's relations with the Eastern Bloc, demonstrated by establishing the Conference of New Emerging Forces (CONEFO) by Sukarno. This group was envisioned as a counter-organisation to the UN.

The idea of establishing the CONEFO received strong support from China, which provided financial aid to build the headquarters in Jakarta. Other communist countries, such as North Korea and North Vietnam later joined the CONEFO. Subsequently, the core of CONEFO was the axis of Jakarta-Hanoi-Pyongyang-Beijing, fuelled by anti-Western rhetoric and orientation.²¹³ The establishment of the axis was Indonesia's direct challenge to the US-dominated status quo. While the revisionist tilt towards Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries could be attributed to Sukarno, it was also influenced by the dominance of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the domestic politics.

However, the foreign policy shift as shown in the speech above was not merely about the changes in Indonesian elites' perspective concerning Indonesia's role in world politics. It is also an example of government negotiation and the contestation between Indonesia's foreign relations with its domestic political and economic concerns. Under Sukarno, Indonesia's relations with the US were characterised by negotiating and contesting US influence on Indonesia. Indonesia usually used the Soviet Union card to obtain concessions from the US, especially in regard to trade demands.²¹⁴ In 1964, Sukarno launched an anti-American campaign with the infamous statement 'Go to hell with your aid'. This campaign was in response to the US slashing funding to Indonesia, as well as its support for Malaysia's bid to be a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. At the same time, the Soviet Union began to provide greater aid to Indonesia, strengthening relations between the two.

Sukarno's revolutionary ideas influenced revisionist tendencies in the articulating Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries. The increased dominance of the Indonesian Communist Party in the domestic political constellation also had

²¹³ Leifer, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy*.

²¹⁴ Timo Kivimäki, "U.S.—Indonesian Relations During the Economic Crisis: Where Has Indonesia's Bargaining Power Gone?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 22, no. 3 (2000): 527–49.

influence.²¹⁵ Indonesia's revisionist approach can be understood as a part of a nation-building project by Sukarno. Its aim was to divert entangled domestic issues that threatened the integrity of the nation. For instance, rather than welcoming the Malaya Federation as a newly formed neighbour within Indonesia's sphere of influence, Sukarno fiercely accused the newly independent country of being a British neo-imperialist project. Indonesia's arrogance strongly affected its small neighbouring country, Singapore. During his visit to Indonesia in 1960, former Singapore Ambassador to Indonesia Mr. Lee Khoon Choy noticed how Sukarno behaved towards the delegation led by Lee Kuan Yew. Mr. Lee Khoon Choy wrote that:

He (Sukarno) was serious and brief when speaking to Lee Kuan Yew. They spoke in Bahasa for about twenty minutes, then he got up, shook our hands and walked back to the room without observing the courtesy of sending us to the door. My impression of Sukarno from this experience, therefore, was that he was arrogant, treating us as delegates from a small country paying him a tribute.²¹⁶

The quote above gives us a glimpse of how one of Indonesia's closest neighbours perceived Sukarno's leadership. The perception shows that despite Indonesia's articulation of the idea that it provided a voice for developing countries, its neighbours seems to be threatened rather than emancipated by Indonesia's behaviour and rhetoric at the global level. To an international audience, the role was rather seen more in terms of Indonesia's shift towards the Eastern Bloc. Hence, even though foreign policymakers expressed a belief that Indonesia enacted the role of providing a voice for developing countries (which certainly became a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative), this was mainly articulated as a part of a wider nation-building agenda to a domestic audience.

Hence, in this period, Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries could be understood more as an articulation of a strategic national myths' rather than as an actual role that fundamentally explained foreign policy choices. It is not surprising

²¹⁵ Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno : Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/21821271>.

²¹⁶ Khoon Choy Lee, *Diplomacy of a Tiny State* (Singapore: World Scientific, 1993).

that the enactment of this role conception was unsuccessful, due to the negative nature of it as well as domestic contestation from significant political actors.

Not only did Sukarno attack the Western powers, but he attacked the UN, which he saw as merely a tool of Western imperialism.²¹⁷ His cynical view of the UN might have been justified, given its inability to resolve the impact of the Cold War on the developing countries. However, his radical revisionism went too far, and he caused Indonesia to be shunned by a majority of countries at the time. This led Indonesia to withdraw from the UN. It comes as no surprise that his interpretation of Indonesia's role conception was highly contested by domestic political actors, especially from the military and Islamic groups. The increasing contestation was complicated by Sukarno's failed economic policy. Inflation had reached 650%, and the budget deficit was greater than the entire country's revenue.²¹⁸

Eventually, Sukarno's regime collapsed. The change from Sukarno to Suharto was marked by the extermination of communist-leaning socio-political actors in Indonesia. Indonesia's national role conception changed radically in the aftermath of the bloody regime changes during 1965-1967. As will be discussed in the next section, the next regime would try to abandon Sukarno's anti-colonial rhetoric by translating the role as a voice for developing countries into rhetoric on economic development.

Despite being enacted for a very short period, Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries would continue to dominate the country's role conception for years to come. This is because the role has become Indonesia's biographical narrative. The reason for this was that the role as a voice for developing countries fit with Indonesia's formative identity as a post-colonial state. This can be attributed to the widely accepted notion of anti-colonialism among Indonesian political elites in the late 1940s to mid-1960s, known as 1928 generation and 1945 generation. The majority of 1928 generation's Indonesian educated class that later became nationalist leaders against Dutch colonialism were hugely influenced by anti-colonial literature,

²¹⁷ Frederick P. Bunnell, "Guided Democracy Foreign Policy: 1960-1965 President Sukarno Moves from Non-Alignment to Confrontation," *Indonesia*, no. 2 (1966): 37-76.

²¹⁸ Leo Suryadinata, "Indonesian Policies toward the Chinese Minority under the New Order," *Asian Survey* 16, no. 8 (1976): 770-87.

especially Marxist writings.²¹⁹ The 1945 generation that became Indonesian leadership in the 1960s also engaged heavily with Marxist ideas in world politics. In other words, the 1928 and 1945 generations, were inclined towards revolutionary ideas.

Thus, being a part of a broader group of developing countries has become Indonesia's core biographical narrative, as a result of its anti-colonial struggle against the Dutch and its positioning in the early years of its independence as closer to the non-Western Bloc in the Cold War international order. Arguably, this role conception as a voice for developing countries then becomes a reflection of Indonesia's self-identity, which needs to be maintained by the foreign policy of coming regimes. This biographical narrative, later, will be invoked by policymakers to justify their particular foreign policy agenda.

Indonesia's role conception under Suharto's leadership (1966 – 1998)

The salience of Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries was reduced due to Suharto's inward-looking approach, which focused more on domestic stability and development.²²⁰ However, Sukarno's articulation of the role is deeply entrenched in Indonesia's biographical narrative. Although, under Suharto's leadership known as the New Order, Indonesian foreign policy abandoned its anti-Western rhetoric, it still framed its foreign policy agenda by continuously enacting the role as a voice for developing countries. During the transition period, it was evident that Indonesia's role conceptions still emphasised its struggle against colonialism and imperialism. This was reflected in Indonesian delegate's speech before the UNGA in 1966, a year after the collapse of Sukarno's regim in which Adam Malik, Indonesia's foreign minister under Suharto, stated that the Indonesian government would continue to pursue its traditional policy of non-alignment. As argued by Leifer, Indonesia's experience in attaining its independence left a distinctive imprint on its anti-colonial foreign policy, which still needs to be articulated.²²¹ Thus, the role as a voice for developing countries

²¹⁹ Weinstein, *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence*.

²²⁰ Rüländ, "Democratizing Foreign-Policy Making in Indonesia and the Democratization of ASEAN."

²²¹ Leifer, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy*.

through rhetoric against colonialism, in all its forms and manifestations, was still dominant in Indonesian foreign policy discourse.

Besides adhering to the rhetoric of anti-colonialism, Indonesia also voiced concern regarding the need for the stabilisation and development of its economy. In the first five years of Suharto's regime, the role as an advocate of development and as a regional leader were increasingly articulated by Indonesia in the international order. Being an advocate of development was as auxiliary to the broader role as a voice for developing countries.

As stated by Adam Malik before the UNGA in 1968:

If previously the question of colonialism was merely a matter of releasing the colonised from the grasp of the coloniser, now a new element has further complicated the issue.... we must begin to make the necessary preparations for entering a new era of development and decolonisation.²²²

This statement shows how Suharto's regime framed this historical role, by emphasising the need for developing countries to focus on their domestic economic development. However, Foreign Minister Malik did not want to instantly withdraw the rhetoric of colonialism in the early days of Suharto's regime. The speech shows that there is a shifting in how the regime placed itself as well as its role in Cold War world politics to be closer to the US and reject the spread of communism in the region. This led Indonesia to strengthen the cooperation among Southeast Asian countries which had been destabilised by Sukarno's revolutionary foreign policy.

In August 1966 Suharto laid out his vision of 'a cooperation Southeast Asia'. The project aimed to make the Southeast Asian region as 'the strongest bulwark and base in facing imperialism and colonialism'.²²³ This vision was translated into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The founding of ASEAN in 1967 was the result of Suharto's ability to convince Indonesia's neighbours of the

²²² Adam Malik's Speech at the UNGA 1680th Plenary Meeting, 30 October 1968.

²²³ Michael Leifer, *ASEAN and the Security of South-East Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 55.

importance to form a cooperation against external interference that might improve the stability and security of the region.²²⁴

To achieve these two domestic goals, Suharto's authoritarian regime pursued a national role conception as a regional leader, which had not been sought by his predecessor. Enacting a role as a regional leader was an essential part of Indonesia's strategy to create a stable environment and win back the trust of its neighbours which were alienated by Sukarno's confrontational policy. Indonesia's aspiring role as a regional leader was also profoundly influenced by the US disengaging from Vietnam in the late 1960s and the Sino-US rapprochement in the early 1970s.²²⁵ Furthermore, the growing Sino-Soviet rivalry in Southeast Asia, with Vietnam becoming increasingly closer to the Soviet Union while the Khmer Rouge occupied Cambodia with the support of China, created strategic uncertainty in the region.²²⁶

The regional strategic uncertainty became a threat to Suharto's idea of national resilience. National resilience refers to an inward-looking security concept that focuses on establishing orderly, peaceful and stable conditions against any subversive elements or infiltration, from either within and without.²²⁷ ASEAN was seen as an instrument to promote Indonesia's national resilience. In his own words, Suharto said:

Our concept of security is inward-looking, namely to establish an orderly, peaceful and stable condition within each individual territory, free from any subversive elements and infiltration, wherever their origins might be from... It is mainly for this purpose that we ought to constantly promote our respective national resilience which in turn will be conducive to the creation of regional resilience.²²⁸

²²⁴ Leifer, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy*.

²²⁵ Yafeng Xia, "China's Elite Politics and Sino-American Rapprochement, January 1969-February 1972," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8, no. 4 (October 12, 2006): 3–28.

²²⁶ Kei Koga, "Institutional Transformation of ASEAN: ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I in 1968–1976," *The Pacific Review* 27, no. 5 (October 20, 2014): 729–53.

²²⁷ Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "National versus Regional Resilience? An Indonesian Perspective," in *Southeast Asian Perspectives on Security*, ed. Derrick da Cunha (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000), 81–97.

²²⁸ State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia 1976: 31 cited Koga, "Institutional Transformation of ASEAN."

Given that strategic uncertainty can endanger Indonesia's national resilience, Indonesia articulated its regional leadership by organising a conference of Asian Foreign Ministers on the question of Cambodia in Jakarta in 1971. The outcome of the conference was a joint statement with four demands; (1) the withdrawal of all foreign troops, facilitating the cessation of hostilities; (2) respect for the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of the countries concerned; (3) the reactivation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control; (4) and the convening of an international conference similar to the Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace to Indo-China, which met in Geneva in 1954.²²⁹

Therefore, in Suharto's view, ASEAN was an extension of Indonesia's pursuit of national resilience. It is no wonder that during his leadership, ASEAN became a cornerstone of Indonesian foreign policy. For over three decades of Suharto's leadership, Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader was enacted by taking greater responsibility in the institutional building of ASEAN, setting its code of conduct, consultation mechanisms and the regional scope for the member states through the first Bali Concord in 1976. The Bali Concord strengthened ASEAN's political solidarity by 'promoting harmonisation of views, coordinating positions and, where possible or desirable, taking common action'.²³⁰ The summit made Indonesia a key player in Southeast Asia. Through ASEAN, Indonesia seemed comfortable playing a more significant role at the regional level. It was after the Asian economic crisis in 1997, which led to the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime, that Indonesia seemed to lose its regional leadership for a short of a period.

The rise of Suharto showed a shift to a friendlier approach towards US global order and abandonment of Indonesia's close relations with China. As shown by Suryadinata, the policy to cut diplomatic ties was driven by the regime's view that the external threat to the security of the Southeast Asian region came from the hostility of China.²³¹ Suharto's perception of China as a threat was due to the latent domestic threat of the

²²⁹ Adam Malik's Speech at the UNGA 1857th Plenary Meeting 1st October 1970

²³⁰ Declaration of ASEAN Concord 1976

²³¹ Leo Suryadinata, "Indonesia-China Relations: A Recent Breakthrough," *Asian Survey* 30, no. 7 (1990): 682–96.

Indonesian communist party and the communist movement.²³² This is evident from Suharto's statement in his 1967 State Address: 'China's involvement in the 1965 coup and continued support for the Indonesian communists had resulted in an abnormal relationship between the two countries'.²³³ On another occasion in 1973, Suharto said that: 'Indonesia will improve relations with China if China is showing a friendly attitude and "quit" providing assistance to former PKI leaders'.²³⁴ As argued by Sukma, under Suharto's leadership, 'instead of developing its political-security relations with China directly, Indonesia preferred to deal with China within a multilateral framework, through either ASEAN or the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)'.²³⁵

Despite being firmly aligned with the US, Suharto's regime aimed to make Southeast Asia's regional security free from external intervention, including the US. This is because, since its post-colonial existence, Indonesia has always viewed the presence of extra-regional powers as a destabilising factor in the region. This view is highly influenced by Indonesia's experience in securing its independence, which in turn created strong nationalist sentiments as part of the country's biographical narrative. Moreover, the internal turbulence in the first two decades, the 1950s to 1960s, was due to internal separatist movements backed by foreign countries such as the US while the Indonesian Communist Party grew with help from China. This experience made Suharto's authoritarian regime perceive external powers as detrimental to Indonesia's internal security.²³⁶

Given Indonesia's closer economic relations with the Western powers, during Suharto's leadership, the role as a mediator had also emerged in the country's foreign policy agenda. This role can be seen as auxiliary within Indonesia's overarching role as a regional leader. The role was enacted with Indonesia's active involvement in mediating conflicting parties in the region. This was a response to Indonesia's growing relations with the US, as well as its need to maintain the role as a voice for developing

²³² Weinstein, *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence*.

²³³ Suryadinata, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy Under Suharto*, 132.

²³⁴ Suryadinata, 132.

²³⁵ Rizal Sukma, "Indonesia-China Relations: The Politics of Re-Engagement," *Asian Survey* 49, no. 4 (2009): 591–608, <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2009.49.4.591>.

²³⁶ Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

countries enacted by Sukarno. Indonesia's role as a mediator in the region was evident from its willingness to supervise the peace process for Vietnam by hosting the International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS) during the visit of President Nixon to Indonesia in July 1969. US policy in Southeast Asia endorsed Indonesia's role as a mediating force, while at the same time, leading Vietnam to view Indonesia as a potential regional partner instead of a natural adversary.²³⁷

Under Suharto's leadership, Indonesia also enacted the role of an advocate of development to reflect its focus on domestic economic improvement. In order to restore Indonesia's economy after the disaster caused by Sukarno's failed economic policy, Suharto's pro-development regime needed support from the Western countries, especially vast capital investment in the country. Sukarno's strong anti-colonial and anti-Western rhetoric was slowly replaced by a friendlier foreign economic policy. As a result, the Suharto's government received financial support from various Western countries and the support was used by the New Order government to develop Indonesia's domestic economy.

Furthermore, to tap the Western powers' economic aid, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) was established in 1967, as a multilateral cooperation entity that provided long-term financial assistance with low-interest rates for development projects. The IGGI members consisted of two groups; the first one being creditor countries such as The United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Japan, the Netherlands, West Germany, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada. The other included international and regional financial bodies, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Economic Community (EEC). With backup from Western capital, since the 1980s, Indonesia succeeded in becoming a Southeast Asian country with high economic growth.²³⁸ In the last decade of Suharto's leadership, many international economic observers referred to Indonesia as the next Asian tiger, due to

²³⁷ Leifer, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy*, 161.

²³⁸ G. A. Posthumus, "The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 8, no. 2 (1972): 55–66.

economic development which influenced Suharto's foreign policy to be more assertive.²³⁹

In the first two decades of Suharto's leadership Indonesia still focused on its domestic economic development and security issues in the region. With the war in Indochina, Indonesia's engagement in international order still needed to be framed as a continuation of its role as a voice for developing countries. Consequently, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) occupied a special position in the foreign policy of Indonesia. From the beginning, Suharto saw NAM as being of great importance because Indonesia played a significant role in its establishment.²⁴⁰ Other than NAM, Indonesia was also an active member of the G77, a loose coalition of developing nations designed to promote its members' collective economic interests and create enhanced joint negotiating capacity in the United Nations.²⁴¹

In contrast to Sukarno's regime, Indonesia under Suharto tended to voice its international engagement by focusing the debate on the imbalances in economic development between the north and south, rather than the ideological conflict between the west and east. While the NAM, at its inception, was positioned as a movement to counter the conflict between the Western and Eastern Blocs, Indonesia tended to frame the NAM as a platform to engage more with economic issues.²⁴² In the early 1970s, through G77 and NAM, developing countries challenged the economic pillars of international order by establishing the New International Economic Order (NIEO), which aimed to create a binding institutional framework, systematically restructuring north/south and core-periphery disparities, altering the post-1945 world economic order. At the beginning, Indonesia seemed more sympathetic to the objectives of the NIEO that focused on development.²⁴³ Although rhetorically sympathetic towards all

²³⁹ Peter S. Heller and Steven Symansky, "Implications for Savings of Aging in the Asian 'Tigers,'" *Asian Economic Journal* 12, no. 3 (September 1, 1998): 219–52; Hal Hill, "Indonesia: The Strange and Sudden Death of a Tiger Economy," *Oxford Development Studies* 28, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 117–39.

²⁴⁰ Michael RJ Vatikiotis, "Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 14, no. 4 (1993): 352–367.

²⁴¹ Rizal Sukma, "The Evolution of Indonesia's Foreign Policy: An Indonesian View," *Asian Survey* 35, no. 3 (1995): 304–15.

²⁴² Vatikiotis, "Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s."

²⁴³ Heinz W. Arndt, "Indonesia and the New International Economic Order," in *Asia and the New International Economic Order*, ed. Jorge A. Lozoya and A.K. Bhattacharya, Pergamon Policy Studies on The New International Economic Order (Oxford: Pergamon, 1981), 189–202.

the goals of the NIEO, it seemed cautious with the overall objective, particularly on the nationalisation or expropriating foreign property on conditions favourable to developing countries. The head of Indonesia's delegation to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) refused to push these objectives. Unlike other developing countries, such as India, that were highly supportive towards NIEO objective, Indonesia warned that the unrealistic expectations could be dangerous for developing countries. In fact, since the beginning, Indonesia refused to contribute to the proposed Special Fund, established under the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.²⁴⁴ Its approach to development emphasised the importance of a stable international capital market and the confidence of international lenders. Despite its overall rejection of the idea, Indonesia was supportive of the notion of debt relief, on a case by case basis, primarily to help the most impoverished countries.

Although Indonesia's foreign policy objectives focused on Southeast Asia, in the last decade of Suharto's leadership, it moved towards playing a significant role at the global level. Indonesia had expressed interest in being a chairman of NAM since the late 1980s, which was finally realised in 1992 until 1995. During its chairmanship, Indonesia took the lead on international economic cooperation and enhancing the economic potential of NAM members by increasing South-South cooperation (SSC).²⁴⁵ NAM members agreed on the Jakarta Message that would redefine the aim of the organisation to move away from the Western and Eastern Bloc confrontation and towards bridging the North-South gap. This vision was enacted through enhancing South-South cooperation among NAM members to boost their economic potential.

The discussion above shows how its role conception as a voice for developing countries has been deeply entrenched in Indonesia's historical narrative since it was first enacted during the crucial nation-building process after its independence. The role has also become a reflection of Indonesia's biographical narrative as a force of anti-colonialism, which is part of the state's foundation.

²⁴⁴ Arndt, 74.

²⁴⁵ Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "Indonesia's Foreign Policy after the Cold War," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1994, 146–63.

Indeed, since 1965, the US has increasingly become a significant other for Indonesia, which required the state to abandon its anti-Western agenda and its pursuit of leadership in developing countries. However, rhetorically the voice for developing countries persisted as Indonesia's national role conception during Suharto's leadership. This is because the role has become an essential aspect of Indonesian foreign policy further supporting the nation-building process. To maintain a sense of stable biographical narrative, policymakers under Suharto's regime recast Indonesia's role as an advocate of development. This auxiliary role is the continuation of Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries that prioritised Indonesia's domestic economic development

Furthermore, Suharto's regime conceptualised and enacted the role of a regional leader as a response to the need for regional resilience, which in turn would provide internal regime security. This role conception was articulated through Indonesia's leadership in making Southeast Asia a communist-free region, which was in line with the US interest in the region. At the same time, Indonesia also led the endeavour to solidify non-interference in Southeast Asia to keep external power interference out from the region. The role as a regional leader in Southeast Asia demonstrated Indonesia's need for a stable regional environment to support its internal security objective, maintaining its fragile territorial integrity. Hence the role as a regional leader also provided Indonesia under Suharto with an arena to articulate its active foreign policy while at the same time serving its domestic security concern.

Given the above discussion, this chapter argues that the two role conceptions, voice for developing countries and as a regional leader, could not be separated from Indonesia's broader biographical narrative that maintains a sense of stable identity. Although Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader under Suharto's regime reduced the salience of its role as a voice for developing countries, Indonesia's strong historical self-identification with the role during Sukarno's regime meant it did not dissolve quickly. In fact, the role could be re-enacted again by the next regime, even though the motivation to enact such roles might be different.

Besides its role as a voice for developing countries, its role as a regional leader was institutionalised for three decades under Suharto's regime, which also defines Indonesia's biographical narrative. Both have become historical roles for Indonesia,

which compels future policymakers to enact such roles to sustain Indonesia's biographical narrative. In his first foreign policy speech, President Yudhoyono reiterated the importance of these two national role conceptions in his current foreign policy by stating:

We will stay our course with ASEAN as the cornerstone of our foreign policy. And our heart is always with the developing world, to which we belong. These are the things that define who we are, and what we do in the community of nations.²⁴⁶

Yudhoyono's speech, thus, is more than just reiterating the importance of the two role conceptions as Indonesia's strategic national myths but also his endeavour to strategically invoke these two role conceptions to justify his middle power foreign policy agenda. As I will further discuss in the next sections, these two national myths have been reproduced and reinterpreted by Yudhoyono to fit with his own foreign policy agenda.

Indonesia's role conception in the early post-authoritarian era (1998 – 2004)

The year 1998 was a crucial time that became the cornerstone of Indonesia's state identity in the international community. Suharto's authoritarian regime, which had been in power for more than thirty-two years, collapsed after massive protests against the 1997 monetary crisis, which turned into a political crisis that reached its climax in May 1998. Indeed, as argued by Kivimäki, the hegemonic structure of Cold War international relations protected Indonesia's authoritarian elite from the pressure of democratisation.²⁴⁷ However, with the end of the era, Indonesia's authoritarian practice was under the spotlight, especially its handling of several separatists' movements in Aceh, Papua, and more importantly East Timor. Thus, in the last decade

²⁴⁶ Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, "Speech by H.E. Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of the Republic of Indonesia before the Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA)" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, May 20, 2005), <https://www.kemlu.go.id/en/pidato/presiden/Pages/Speech-by-H.E.-Dr.-Susilo-Bambang-Yudhoyono-President-of-the-Republic-of-Indonesia-before-the-Indone.aspx>.

²⁴⁷ Kivimäki, "U.S.—Indonesian Relations During the Economic Crisis."

of Suharto's authoritarian regime, Indonesia was pressured internationally to democratise.

The collapse of the Suharto regime marked the start of a new era for democratic Indonesia, which is widely known as the *reformasi* era. However, at the beginning, from 1998 – 2004, Indonesia suffered from large-scale ethnic and religious conflict, which claimed around 10,000 lives.²⁴⁸ In the same period, Indonesia also experienced political turmoil characterised by several short-lived leadership.²⁴⁹ During this five-year period Indonesia went through three national leadership changes. Coinciding with the rise of the War on Terror initiated by the US, Indonesia also became fertile ground for Islamic radicalism.²⁵⁰ Due to the weak response of the government, there were seventeen bombings associated with radicalism in the first five years of democratisation. The country's slow economic recovery further exacerbated conditions, although the economy did finally return to the before crisis levels in 2004. It is not surprising that many observers predicted that after the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime Indonesia would experience balkanisation, which might generate intense ethnic nationalism leading to civil war.²⁵¹

Although Indonesia was still undergoing a fragile democratic consolidation from 1999 – 2004, in October 2001 at the Jakarta Foreign Correspondents' Club, Hassan Wirajuda, the country's foreign minister from 2001 to 2009, who became the architect of Indonesia's foreign policy during the *reformasi* era, asserted that:

For a long time, the Indonesian public did not see human rights the same way that the international public did. This discrepancy in perception became a

²⁴⁸ Jacques Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁴⁹ Since 1999 to 2004, there were three Presidents; B.J. Habibie was the President from 21st May 1998 to 20th October 1999, Abdurahman Wahid known as Gusdur was the President from 20th October 1999 to 23rd July 2001, Megawati Sukarnoputri was the President from 23rd July 2001 to 20th October 2004.

²⁵⁰ John T. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

²⁵¹ Edward Aspinall and Mark T. Berger, "The Break-up of Indonesia? Nationalisms after Decolonisation and the Limits of the Nation-State in Post-Cold War Southeast Asia," *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 6 (2001): 1003–24.

constraint in the development of our foreign relations, we will do our best to remove that perception gap.²⁵²

Wirajuda's speech was an initial indicator that Indonesia would change its national role conception to line up with the expectation from the international community that it would be a new democratic country. Thus, his speech was not a statement of fact about current Indonesian foreign policy on democracy but rather reflected his desire to shift Indonesia's foreign policy to be supportive to democracy. A month later, in front of other delegations in the United Nations General Assembly, Wirajuda declared: 'Indonesia today stands proud as the third-largest democracy in the world' and 'we Indonesians have a natural affinity to democracy'.²⁵³ His claims showed the shift in Indonesian foreign policy elites' interpretation of the country's aspirational new identity. Since then, Indonesia has continued to use the identity as the world's third-largest democracy in many international fora and platforms. At the time, Wirajuda as Foreign Minister enacted Indonesia's new role conception as an advocate of democracy. However, the change in identity it articulated to an international audience did not reflect the conditions at the domestic level, since at the same time, Indonesia was struggling with the impact of democratisation, which caused various ethnic conflicts and increasing support for separatism in various provinces. Thus, arguably, rather than reflecting the state's embrace of the democratic norm, the proposed role conception was driven by Indonesian foreign policymakers' willingness to fulfil the perception of the international community.

Although the aspiration to reflect democratic identity into Indonesia's role conception was established during Megawati Sukarnoputri's presidency, due to the domestic problems Sukarnoputri had less ambition and fewer resources to enact such a role conception. In her state address on August 16, 2001, Megawati stressed that her government would implement a foreign policy that focused on 'recovering the state's

²⁵² the Independent, "N Hassan Wirajuda: We Are Concerned by These Military Strikes," *The Independent*, October 17, 2001, <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/n-hassan-wirajuda-we-are-concerned-by-these-military-strikes-9210340.html>.

²⁵³ N. Hassan Wirajuda, "Statement of N. Hassan Wirajuda, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 'The Democratic Response,'" (United Nations, November 15, 2001).

and nation's dignity, returning the trust of foreign countries, including international donor institutions and investors to the government'.²⁵⁴

Furthermore, during Megawati's leadership, there was a growing domestic dissatisfaction with Western global economic institutions, which were seen as a cause for Indonesia's economic crisis and socio-political problems. For instance, Indonesia's domestic audience both within the elite circles and the grassroots groups, saw Indonesia's dependence on the IMF as a political burden which needed to be stopped. While under Suharto's regime, Indonesia was also dependent on foreign aid. However, in the post-authoritarian period, the dependence on Western powers, both individually and through multilateral institutions, were seen by many in the nationalist camp as an insult to Indonesia. As a result, efforts to get out of dependency on Western institutions became one of the primary targets of all administrations in the *reformasi* era.

This emergence of anti-Western economic institutions was rooted in Indonesia's increasing foreign debt, which was due to the constant bailing out from the IMF in efforts to recover Indonesia from the crisis. The presence of the IMF brought consequences in the form of conditions that Indonesian government had to fulfil. There was a widespread belief among Indonesian domestic actors that the IMF was a tool of Western powers, used to instil their interests in countries assisted.²⁵⁵ Thus, within this period, the role as voice of developing countries with anti-Western rhetoric, re-emerged in Indonesia's domestic political discourse, which later was recast by Indonesian policymakers under Yudhoyono to play a greater role at the global level.

While Indonesia's roles as a voice for developing countries and as a regional leader were conceived during Sukarno's and Suharto's regimes, the roles of advocate for democracy and bridge-builder were primarily driven by the changes in the domestic political environment in the post-authoritarian period. The process of democratisation also attracted growing expectations from the international community, particularly

²⁵⁴ Megawati Soekarnoputri, "State Address by H.E. the President of the Republic of Indonesia Megawati Soekarnoputri before the House of People's Representatives on the Occasion of the 56th Independence Day 16 August 2001" (National Secretariat, the Republic of Indonesia, August 16, 2001), https://perpustakaan.setneg.go.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=1718.

²⁵⁵ Robison and Rosser, "Contesting Reform"; Melani Budianta, "Discourse of Cultural Identity in Indonesia during the 1997-1998 Monetary Crisis," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1, no. 1 (2000): 109–128.

from the Western countries, for Indonesia to be a role model for successful democratised states from developing countries. Hence, the process started soon after the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998, provided an opportunity for Indonesia to craft new role conceptions that could be utilised to take a more active role at the global level.

As shown above, although the idea of using a democratic identity existed since 2001, the national role conception to project democratic identity had not entirely gained momentum. There was a lack of real foreign policy action to put the identity into practice. Given her lack of foreign relations experience, as well as the domestic political situation at the time, President Megawati had yet to make a foreign policy agenda one of her top priorities, and she still preferred to focus on domestic issues. As a result, Indonesia did not set up a clear objective for its new national role conception.²⁵⁶ As a consequence, during her leadership, Indonesia had a low profile in terms of its foreign policy in the international system.²⁵⁷

In addition to solving domestic problems like terrorism and rebellion in Aceh, there were efforts from Megawati's government to take a leading role within ASEAN. The effort to revive ASEAN was inseparable from the role of Indonesia as a chairman in 2003. To rejuvenate ASEAN after the Asian economic crisis, during the 9th Summit in Bali, October 12, 2003, all member countries signed the Bali Concord II, as a re-statement of ASEAN's objective for a more integrated Southeast Asia. During the summit, ASEAN members also agreed to create a community supported by three pillars: political and security cooperation through the establishment of ASEAN Political-Security Community (ASC), economic cooperation through the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and socio-cultural cooperation through the ASEAN Socio-Culture Community (ASCC).

Furthermore, during the Megawati Presidency, Indonesia seemed to have succeeded in playing its role in various vital issues within ASEAN, such as enlarging the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) towards other partner countries such as India, China, Japan, and Russia. Indonesia was also successful in establishing cooperation between

²⁵⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *Indonesia, Islam, and Democracy: Dynamics in a Global Context* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2006).

²⁵⁷ Sukma, *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy*.

ASEAN and the European Union in fighting global terrorism within the UN framework. As argued by Kai He, Megawati's attempt to play a more significant role in ASEAN was not solely driven by the need to restore Indonesia's position in the region. It was mainly driven by the need to use foreign policy as well as the ASEAN institution to help her government solve domestic issues and provide political legitimacy.²⁵⁸ By leading the construction of security, economic, social and cultural communities in ASEAN, Megawati's administration aimed to strengthen the internal consolidation and revival of ASEAN, countering external pressures regarding Indonesia's political domestic conditions.

Indeed, during six years of democratisation, Indonesia faced several challenges that stemmed from both problem of political legitimacy at the domestic level and pressures from the international community.²⁵⁹ However, with the election of Yudhoyono in 2004, the first elected President in Indonesian history, policymakers started to create a more coherent national role conception that utilised assets it had from the democratisation process. The new role was conceptualised in order to fulfil the expectations of the international community. Hence, democratisation arguably changed Indonesia's foreign policy direction after the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime.

Indonesia's role conceptions under Yudhoyono (2009 – 2014)

In contrast to his predecessors in the early *reformasi* era, who focused heavily on domestic issues, the Yudhoyono administration made a strategic move by making democracy part of Indonesia's state identity to project abroad.²⁶⁰ The consolidation of democracy was still at an early stage when Yudhoyono took the office from Megawati Sukarnoputri, and there were still many domestic issues that challenged democratisation. It was under his presidency that projecting a democratic identity to the international community became an official objective for Indonesia. The Mid-

²⁵⁸ Kai He, "Indonesia's Foreign Policy after Soeharto: International Pressure, Democratization, and Policy Change," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2008): 47–72.

²⁵⁹ He.

²⁶⁰ Sukma, "Indonesia Finds a New Voice."

Term Development Plan 2004-2009 stated that the country's main goal in the area of foreign policy was 'strengthening and expanding the national identity as a democratic country in the international society'.²⁶¹ In operationalising this target, Indonesia focused on ASEAN to project its democratic identity.

Projecting a democratic identity moved to the next level during the second period of the Yudhoyono administration (2009- 2014). During his second term, the goal was further operationalised through Indonesia's greater involvement in advancing democracy and human rights in multilateral fora and international organisations. The official Mid-Term Development Plan 2009-2014 established 'the recovery of an important position—Indonesia as a democratic state that is characterised by the great success of diplomacy in the international forums' as the main goal of the Indonesian foreign policy agenda.²⁶² Moreover, it stated that one of the main targets of Indonesia's foreign policy was to 'promote a positive image of Indonesia through the advancement of democracy and human rights'.²⁶³ In other words, the focus of the second five-year term of the Yudhoyono administration showed the importance of international audience in shaping Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy both at the regional and global levels.

Arguably, Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy and human rights can be linked to Indonesia's auxiliary role as an advocate of economic liberalisation. This is because a neoliberal reform agenda, a part of Indonesia's state transformation in the post-authoritarian period, led to the greater urge to internationalise Indonesia's market. This reform created two opposite forces within Indonesia's trade discourse concerning further regional economic integration projects, the liberalisers, mainly economic technocrats, that championed greater regional integration and openness, versus the nationalists' camp ranging from politicians to small and medium enterprises to farmers

²⁶¹ Ministry of national development planning, "Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 2005 Tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional Tahun 2004-2009" (Ministry of national development planning, 2005), http://www.bappenas.go.id/files/9814/2099/2543/RPJMN_2004-2009.pdf.

²⁶² Ministry of national development planning, "Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 5 Tahun 2010 Tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional Tahun 2010-2014" (Ministry of national development planning, 2010), http://www.kemenkeu.go.id/sites/default/files/perpres2010_5.pdf.

²⁶³ Ministry of national development planning.

and labours' unions that preferred a protectionist approach and were sceptical towards the notion of regional integration and economic openness.

Although many domestic political actors framed the neoliberal reform as a Western attempt to paralyse the Indonesian economy, for many Indonesian economic technocrats, the neoliberal reform agenda aimed to break Suharto's crony capitalists and interest groups that were holding the country back from being competitive in the global market.²⁶⁴ Many of Yudhoyono's cabinet ministers were part of a technocratic group that pushed for more liberalising force within the Indonesian economy. For instance, many figures considered as pro-market and pro-openness filled posts for the Ministry of Finance as well as the Ministry of Trade. With many senior bureaucrats within the Ministry, Mari Elka Pangestu, Indonesian Minister of Trade (2004-2011) was seen as a liberalising force. Moreover, Gita Wirjawan (2011-2014) was seen as an internationalist, put in place by President Yudhoyono to implement his liberal and international agendas. While the former was an economic technocrat, the latter was an Indonesian banker whose previous role in Yudhoyono's Cabinet was as Head of Indonesia Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM).

Indeed, the impetus for neoliberal reform was not limited to Indonesia. The post-Asian financial crisis economic policies led to a greater liberalisation of Southeast Asian economies to avoid another crisis, which partly stemmed from the collusive relationship between banks, governments, and business, sustaining networks of cronyism.²⁶⁵ Thus, the external economic environment pressured Indonesia to liberalise its economy following the collapse of Suharto's regime. Despite being widely seen as a destructive force by many domestic actors, the structural power of foreign capital and the need to internationalise the domestic market significantly influenced post-authoritarian economic elites to opt for a greater regional integration project. Within Southeast Asia, this liberalisation project translated into efforts to establish a cohesive regional economic community that integrated ASEAN into a single market. As a result, the struggle between the liberalising camp that focused on the general welfare gains offered by greater international openness and the

²⁶⁴ Soesastro and Basri, "The Political Economy of Trade Policy in Indonesia."

²⁶⁵ Robison and Rosser, "Contesting Reform."

protectionist camp, which focused on the notion of economic nationalism to protect their domestic interests, shaped the evolution of ASEAN's regional economic integration.²⁶⁶ As I will argue in Chapter 6, these struggles eventually lead to growing domestic contestations especially in regard to Indonesia's role as a regional leader in regional trade governance.

The changes in Indonesia's domestic political economy also led to increased expectations of Indonesia's role at the global level. During Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia's foreign policy was heavily influenced by the expectations of the international community. This can be explained by the need for Indonesia to restore its position at the international level after the economic and political crisis. When Yudhoyono took office, Indonesia was praised by the international community for its success in managing democratic consolidation and avoiding further social and political tension. Given that Indonesia is the most populous secular and moderate Muslim country in the world, its democratic consolidation was seen as a living model of how Islam could be compatible with democracy. Furthermore, the increased tension between the Islamic and Western world, characterised by the rise of Islamic radicalism and epitomised by the War on Terror, has created a role demand from the international community for Indonesia to bridge what is perceived to be a civilizational gap. Therefore, Indonesian foreign policymakers have utilised its unique secular democratic Muslim identity as an asset in the role as both an advocate for democracy and a bridge-builder.

During Yudhoyono's administration, Indonesia aspired to take a role as a promoter of human rights and democratic norms. Throughout his presidency, the aspiration to become a regional leader was central to many statements made by critical actors within the Indonesian foreign policy establishment. This role can be seen as a continuation of the one institutionalised by Suharto's regime. Since 1998, Indonesia's leadership position declined, due to the 1997 Asian financial crisis, as well as Indonesia's internal struggle to unite the country after the collapse of the Suharto regime.²⁶⁷ Hence, the

²⁶⁶ Helen E. S. Nesadurai, *Globalisation, Domestic Politics and Regionalism* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

²⁶⁷ Anthony Smith, "Indonesia's Role in ASEAN: The End of Leadership?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 21, no. 2 (1999): 23; Pattharapong Rattanaseevee, "Leadership in ASEAN: The Role of Indonesia Reconsidered," *Asian Journal of Political Science* 22, no. 2 (May 4, 2014): 113–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2014.895912>.8–60.

main objective of Indonesian foreign policy in the post-authoritarian regime was to tackle one problem, the waning of Indonesia's leadership role in Southeast Asia. Under Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia did not aim to re-enact its role as a regional leader *per se* but did further use its leadership role in the region to pursue middle power status at the international level.

Within Southeast Asia, due to its material capabilities, strategic position and identity change from an authoritarian state to a democratic one, Indonesia was regarded as a *primus inter pares* both by countries within the region and external actors.²⁶⁸ With this position, Indonesia was expected to play the role of an active regional leader by keeping ASEAN important and relevant in Southeast Asia. However, the notion of a regional leader was subtler when it came to Indonesia's role. Although Indonesia is the most prominent country in Southeast Asia, it carefully crafted its leadership as more of a regional representative to the broader international community. Thus, rather than being a dominant player, Indonesia's diplomatic strategy emphasised the need for consensus with every decision made in ASEAN.

Under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Indonesia's regional leadership vision is more directed towards intellectual and entrepreneurial leadership, focusing on providing objectives as well as shaping procedure and institutional frames.²⁶⁹ In the case of ASEAN, Indonesia conducts its leadership role by actively reforming ASEAN, providing it with new objectives, goals, and norms.²⁷⁰ Indonesia maintains its consensus-based approach, in which it tries to accommodate the interests of all countries in Southeast Asia. By doing so, Indonesia minimises the challenges from other ASEAN countries to its leadership in the region.²⁷¹ As will be further examined in Chapter 4, Indonesia's intellectual leadership is manifested in its role in institutionalising the democratic and human rights norms within ASEAN. However, the endeavour is not without challenges both from other ASEAN members as well as domestic actors within Indonesia.

²⁶⁸ Author's personal interview with Vietnamese Ambassador to Indonesia, 15 September 2016.

²⁶⁹ Laksmana, "Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile."

²⁷⁰ Rattanaseeve, "Leadership in ASEAN."

²⁷¹ Reid, *Indonesia Rising*.

During Suharto's authoritarian regime, Indonesia's aspiration to become a regional leader was primarily driven by the need to provide internal security by creating regional resilience through regional cooperation. Under Yudhoyono, the role aspiration was primarily driven by the ambition to play a greater role as an emerging middle power. In fact, there was a paradigm shift in how Indonesia sees ASEAN. During Suharto's regime, Indonesia tried to keep external powers out of ASEAN affairs. During Yudhoyono's tenure, Indonesia tended to perceive ASEAN as a platform for it to exercise a mediator role in East Asia by taking an actively shaping the regional architecture as well as ensuring the centrality of ASEAN in responses to initiatives to include external powers within regional development. Rather than keeping external powers out of the ASEAN regional architecture, Indonesia pushed the idea of intensifying institutional engagement with external major powers through strategic cooperation, such as with the East Asia Summit (EAS) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

Indonesia's regional leadership role is primarily conducted by providing ASEAN with intellectual leadership. Indonesia's role as a regional leader in ASEAN manifests in two main areas. Firstly, Indonesia acted as a norm setter in the region by strengthening ASEAN's democratic architecture through building principles like the ASEAN Charter and ASEAN Human Rights Declaration as well as institutions like the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. Secondly, through building the East Asia regional architecture with ASEAN at its centre, Indonesia acted as a manager of systemic change in the Asian Pacific with the rise of China as the new great power.

The embodiment of Indonesia's aspiring role as a manager is shown by the idea promulgated by Marty Natalegawa, Foreign Minister in the second term of Yudhoyono's presidency, called dynamic equilibrium. Dynamic equilibrium is Natalegawa's reading of Indonesia's role in managing the growing rivalry between status quo great powers like the United States and rising powers like China. The idea of dynamic equilibrium is to manage the structural change in the international system with the rise of China and respond by adapting and engaging with the country rather than refusing to accommodate the change in the balance of power in the Asia-Pacific.

In the economic realm, the inclination of President Yudhoyono towards a neo-liberal agenda within Indonesia's overarching role as an advocate of democracy has been infused in its role conceptions as a regional leader. This is seen by Indonesia enacting its role as a regional leader, voicing its standpoint on the need to reduce the protectionism hindering free trade, as well as further strengthening ASEAN through a greater economic integration among members. Hence, regional economic integration projects have been used as a platform for Yudhoyono's administration to advance its foreign policy agenda. In many speeches that detailed his foreign trade policy, Yudhoyono reiterated Indonesia's willingness to get rid of protectionism in order to increase liberalisation. In his speech before the opening ceremony of the APEC CEO Summit, Yudhoyono stated that:

We all need to do our part to prevent protectionist policies and continue on our path of trade liberalisation, in ways that uplift the well-being of all our citizens.

We must also ensure that our trade relations are not only strong but balanced.²⁷²

However, Yudhoyono's remarks above should not be seen as his government's unified position on enhancing trade liberalisation. On the contrary, the statement does not even capture Yudhoyono's trade policies that, at the time the speech was made, were becoming more protectionist. In fact, it shows the incoherence between his stance and his trade policies. Yudhoyono's remarks show that the President himself was in favour of enhancing the role conception as a regional leader through advocating trade liberalisation in the region. In reality, the ministries responsible for trade-related issues resist in implementing such conception. Thus, his speech can be interpreted as, what I will discuss further in Chapter 6 and 7, evidence of fragmentation in Indonesia's enactment of an auxiliary role as an advocate of liberalisation.

In 2008, Rizal Sukma, one of Indonesia's prominent strategic thinkers argued for the need to go beyond ASEAN as the cornerstone of Indonesia's foreign policy.²⁷³ This critique has resonated within Indonesia's foreign policy circles given that the country's role at the global level is somehow restricted by its preoccupation with

²⁷² Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, "Keynote Speech President of the Republic of Indonesia at APEC CEO Summit 2013," October 6, 2013, <http://www.contexto.org/pdfs/APECIndo6octintrpspeech.pdf>.

²⁷³ Rizal Sukma, "Indonesia Needs a Post-ASEAN Foreign Policy," *The Jakarta Post*, June 30, 2009, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/06/30/indonesia-needs-a-postasean-foreign-policy.html>.

ASEAN. To further enhance Indonesia's role, in the second term of Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia did not prioritise being a regional leader but further used its regional leadership role to pursue emerging middle power status at the global level. Indonesia has increased its leverage as an emerging middle power in several important forums. In the G20, for instance, Indonesia always acts as a representative of the ASEAN countries. In 2009, it proposed the establishment of the ASEAN G20 contact group to consolidate ASEAN member countries' interests, which Indonesia then brought to the discussion in the G20 forum.

Furthermore, under Indonesia's chairmanship in 2011, ASEAN adopted the Bali Concord III, which transformed the organisation into an international actor. As argued by Natalegawa, the change in the direction of ASEAN to be a global actor is a reflection of Indonesia's aspiration to be a regional power with global interests.²⁷⁴ However, to do that, given its historical experience which forces Indonesia not to downgrade ASEAN as the cornerstone of its foreign policy, Indonesia took ASEAN cooperation to a higher level through the Bali Concord III adopted in 2011. The Bali Concord III enhances ASEAN's engagement as an international actor in the UN framework and substantiates its representation in the G20 as well as other international bodies and processes, including APEC, the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO.²⁷⁵

In the broader Asia-Pacific region, Indonesia is expected to maintain the balance of power, given the systemic changes caused by the rise of China and the decline of the US in the region.²⁷⁶ To do this, Indonesia pursues a strategy that involves embracing external actors within ASEAN-centred multilateral initiatives, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Plus Three (APT), the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM), and the latest, the East Asia Summit (EAS).²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Natalegawa, "Annual Press Statement Minister for Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia."

²⁷⁵ Paruedee Nguitragool and Jürgen Rüländ, *ASEAN as an Actor in International Fora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²⁷⁶ Moch Faisal Karim and Tangguh Chairil, "Waiting for Hard Balancing? Explaining Southeast Asia's Balancing Behaviour towards China," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 34–61.

²⁷⁷ Moch Faisal Karim, "Reinventing Regional Order in East Asia: A Southeast Asian Perspective," *Thinking ASEAN: From Southeast Asia on Southeast Asia*, November 23, 2016, http://admin.thcasean.org/assets/uploads/file/2016/11/Thinking_ASEAN_November_2016_-_compressed.pdf.

The literature on middle power behaviour tends to characterise them as more global-minded.²⁷⁸ This might be true for traditional middle powers, which tend to have entrepreneurial capacity and technical skills to exercise their niche diplomacy at the global level.²⁷⁹ However, in the case of emerging middle powers like Indonesia, enacting a leadership role in the region is key to increasing their leverage at the global level. As argued by Nolte, ‘while traditional middle powers are first and foremost defined by their role in international politics, the new [emerging] middle powers are, first of all, regional powers and in addition to middle powers on a global scale’.²⁸⁰ Thus, emerging middle powers tend to exercise their middlepowermanship through the role of a regional leader. In the case of Indonesia, this is a result of its historical experience. Its role as a regional leader has become Indonesia’s historical role, institutionalised during thirty-two years of Suharto’s authoritarian regime (1968–1998). This historical role needs to be enacted by Indonesia even though it aims to play a more significant role at the global level. Thus, to avoid role conflict, Indonesia’s middle power status must be achieved through this role.

Given its historical identification as a regional leader, Indonesian foreign policymakers can legitimise the aspiration to play a greater role at the global level through enhancing ASEAN as a regional organisation that actively tackles global issues. Overall, its success in strengthening ASEAN’s role in East Asia’s regional architecture, as well as its capability as a mediator in the context of great power rivalry, shows how Indonesia’s aspiration to be a global player can be achieved through the enactment of the role of regional leader.

In a nutshell, we can see how the same role conceived during Suharto’s authoritarian regime has been recast by Yudhoyono’s administration to serve its aspiration to be an emerging middle power. Instead of departing from its role as a regional leader, Yudhoyono’s administration enacts the role conception in a way that does not follow

²⁷⁸ Andrew Carr, “Is Australia a Middle Power? A Systemic Impact Approach,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 70–84; John Ravenhill, “Cycles of Middle Power Activism: Constraint and Choice in Australian and Canadian Foreign Policies,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 52, no. 3 (November 1, 1998): 309–27.

²⁷⁹ Carl Ungerer, “The ‘Middle Power’ Concept in Australian Foreign Policy,” *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 53, no. 4 (December 1, 2007): 538–51.

²⁸⁰ Detlef Nolte, “How to Compare Regional Powers: Analytical Concepts and Research Topics,” *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 4 (October 2010): 890.

what it was conceived as at the beginning. Given that role conception as a regional leader has been a signature of Suharto's regime for almost 32 years, it has become one of Indonesia's historical role conceptions, along with the role as a voice for developing countries.

As stated in Chapter 2, even though the historical roles might be revived and continued, the enactment of such will not necessarily have the same objective. In this case, Yudhoyono's administration was able to mobilise a historical role to fit with its current foreign policy agenda. Its role as a regional leader was defined differently due to expectations both from ego and alter, particularly the need for Indonesia to enhance its democratic norm, neoliberal agenda, and manage China's rise. The analysis of Yudhoyono's enactment of the role of regional leader shows that the role conception has become Indonesian state's biographical narrative and that there is a need to uphold it as Indonesia's biographical narrative.

Under Yudhoyono, Indonesia also strengthened its role as a voice for developing countries. The role as a voice for developing countries refers to Indonesia's engagement in global level forums and activities emphasising solidarity among developing countries, support over the struggle for independence of nations, rejecting colonialism in all forms and enhancing national independence and cooperation. Within this context, Indonesia's role in global governance focuses on efforts to solve global problems that are more in line with the conditions of developing countries through policies or products of global policies that are more in favour of the interests of developing countries and accommodate domestic conditions in developing countries.

As previously argued, the role of a voice for developing countries has been entrenched as a crucial reflection of the historical experience of early state formation which became Indonesia's biographical narrative. In many of his speeches, President Yudhoyono stated that Indonesia's greater role in global governance was a part of its continuing effort to be the voice for developing countries. For instance, Indonesia co-initiating the Asia-African Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement and the G77 were used to illustrate the prior enactment of its role conception.

During the Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia tried to revitalise its role in enhancing the South-South Cooperation (SSC) as a way to re-enact its role as a voice for

developing countries. In 2005, Indonesia hosted the second Asian-African Conference to commemorate the golden jubilee of the historic 1955 Asian-African Conference. Although mainly ceremonial, the commemorative conference adopted the joint declaration, the New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership, which aimed to create closer cooperation between Asian and African countries. Through this initiative, Indonesia aims to increase its leadership role in fostering the SSC agenda. During this meeting, Indonesia officially re-enacted its role as a voice for developing countries.

Moreover, as will be discussed later on in Chapter 7, under the Yudhoyono presidency, Indonesia also took a greater role as a voice for developing countries in the Doha Development Round in the WTO by maintaining its leadership role in G-33. The continuation of the enactment of the role as a voice for developing countries could be explained through the notion of biographical narrative, in which Indonesia foreign policymakers' need to enact the historical role as to sustain Indonesia's stable identity.

In the second-half of Yudhoyono's presidency, the development of South-South cooperation became important, with the inclusion of Indonesia to be a part of the G20. Membership in this G20 giving Indonesia a greater voice to represent developing countries with other emerging powers. Yudhoyono government included South-South cooperation agenda as one of the priorities in the medium-term national development plan of 2010-2014. Prioritising the SSC agenda in the medium-term national development plan demonstrates a new endeavour for policymakers to make the Indonesian foreign policy agenda reflect the role as a voice for developing countries. Under Yudhoyono presidency, the main discourse for Indonesia's greater role in South-South cooperation can be attributed to Yudhoyono's outlook that this area enhanced Indonesia's position at the international level and could give a positive image of Indonesia in the eyes of international community.

Under Yudhoyono, Indonesia also aspired to take a role as a bridge-builder. The role has become one of the overarching national role conceptions enacted by Yudhoyono's presidency in pursuing middle power status. The role as a bridge-builder was identified during the Cold War era, in which it was defined by Holsti as 'acting as a translator or

conveyor of messages and information between peoples and different cultures’.²⁸¹ Furthermore, the middle power literature has established that bridge-builder is one of the key roles in middle power diplomacy.²⁸² At the end of the Cold War, the emergence of multi-polarity with the relative decline of the US, as well as the War on Terror which increased tension among Islam and the West, made the role of bridge-builder increasingly relevant for the emerging middle powers. Given this condition, Indonesia is not the only emerging middle power enacting the role. For instance, due to its geopolitical position, Turkey has enacted the role of bridge-builder between Islamic and western civilisations.²⁸³ Due to its economic growth, Brazil has also pursued the role by contextualising itself as a bridge between the north and the south.²⁸⁴

Under Yudhoyono, Indonesia’s role as a bridge-builder is translated into the Indonesian government position which continues to push for a mediation approach in bridging the sharp differences in positions between key countries, in various international forums from the WTO to the UN Security Council. In enacting its bridge-builder role, Indonesia focuses on its moderate views on global issues. In his speech, Marty Natalegawa, a former Indonesian foreign minister, stated ‘in any international forum, including ASEAN and the G-20, Indonesia will bridge different visions of nation-states and show Indonesia’s moderate and strong views’.²⁸⁵ Just like Turkey, Indonesia’s role is mainly to build a bridge between the Western world and Islamic civilisation in light of the current tension between the two. In terms of its foreign policy agenda, the enactment of this role can be seen in Indonesia’s greater role in mediating conflict in the Muslim world. For instance, it hosted the Sunni-Shiite Conference in the city of Bogor to help foster dialogue and peace between the two factions of Islam in Iraq. Similarly, Indonesia is actively participating in the UN

²⁸¹ Holsti, “National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy.”

²⁸² Andrew Fenton Cooper, Richard A. Higgott, and Kim Richard Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993); Janis Van Der Westhuizen, “South Africa’s Emergence as a Middle Power,” *Third World Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1998): 435–55.

²⁸³ Aras and Gorener, “National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policy Orientation.” (Aras and Gorener 2010)

²⁸⁴ Sean W. Burges, “Brazil as a Bridge between Old and New Powers?,” *International Affairs* 89, no. 3 (May 1, 2013): 577–94.

²⁸⁵ Mark Beeson and Will Lee, “The Middle Power Moment: A New Basis for Cooperation between Indonesia and Australia?,” in *Indonesia’s Ascent*, ed. Christopher B. Roberts, Ahmad D. Habir, and Leonard C. Sebastian, Critical Studies of the Asia Pacific Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 224–43.

peacekeeping mission in Lebanon. Since 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with some national Islamic organisations, have actively promoted Indonesia's moderate Islamic identity by organising an interfaith dialogue with other western countries in both Indonesia and abroad.

To establish itself as a country that can take on the role of bridge-builder in the international order, President Yudhoyono justified the enactment of the role by invoking the largest Muslim population, which makes Indonesia a natural bridge-builder between Islam and the West. In his speech, President Yudhoyono said:

[T]hroughout our history, the cultures of the three Oriental, Islamic and Western civilizations have found a home in Indonesia; we have been given a new role. We have come to be regarded as the natural bridge between the Western world on the one hand and the Islamic and Oriental worlds on the other.²⁸⁶

The speech above shows Yudhoyono's attempt to create a new strategic national myth for Indonesia to justify recent Indonesia's bridging role in world politics. However, as suggested in the speech, Indonesia's role as a natural bridge between the Western and the Islamic world is not necessarily motivated by Indonesia's domestic aspiration. Rather, the enactment of the role is driven by alter expectations from the international community particularly from the Western countries. Yudhoyono 's administration only mobilised the feature of Indonesia being the largest Muslim country to justify the enactment of the role as a bridge-builder.

Thus, although Indonesia became the country with the largest Muslim population in the world long before Yudhoyono became president, it was under his leadership that the notion became an attribute used by Indonesia in its foreign policy agenda. Indonesia has repositioned itself as a Muslim-majority country, while at the same time adhering to secular democratic principles at the core of western civilisation. By doing so, Indonesia can legitimise its role as bridge-builder by invoking this inherent quality,

²⁸⁶ Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, "Indonesia: Regional Role, Global Reach" (LSE IDEAS South East Asia International Affairs Programme lecture, March 31, 2009), http://www.lse.ac.uk/assets/richmedia/channels/publicLecturesAndEvents/transcripts/20090331_BambangYudhoyono_tr.pdf.

which has never been utilised before, to capture change in the international order with the increasing tension between the Islamic and the Western world.

In his first speech on foreign affairs, President Yudhoyono stated that:

...We are a proud nation who cherish our independence and national unity; We are the fourth most populous nation in the world; We are home to the world's largest Muslim population; We are the world's third-largest democracy; We are a country where Islam, democracy, and modernity go hand-in-hand.²⁸⁷

The quote from Yudhoyono's speech above was typical of official speeches often given by high-ranking Indonesian officials in international fora. His speech is more of a statement of strategic objective rather than just a statement of fact. The notions that Indonesia is the largest Muslim population, as well as the third largest democracy, have been strategically mobilised to justify Indonesia's aspiration to fulfill the role as a bridge-builder.

Furthermore, the enactment of a role as a bridge-builder also serves political objectives. Given the War on Terror waged by the US, there is increasing radicalism within Indonesia's Muslim community that undermines secular and moderate Islamic values. Thus, there is a need for policymakers to deal with the contested value of moderate norms at domestic level. Enacting role as bridge-builder would lock in and preserve Indonesia's moderate Muslim identity. As revealed in interviews with high-ranking Indonesian foreign policymakers, enactment of a role as an advocate of democracy and bridge-builder by articulating democracy and moderate Muslim values empowers moderate Islamic groups to have a platform for their views and engage with Indonesia's public diplomacy.²⁸⁸

The idea of Indonesia as a bridge-builder became deeply entrenched during the Yudhoyono administration. The role as a bridge-builder, however, is not only enacted in relations to Indonesia as a part of the Muslim world. As the largest Muslim

²⁸⁷ Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, "Speech Before The Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA)" (Office of the President of Republic of Indonesia, May 19, 2005), <http://sby.keputakaan-presiden.pnri.go.id/index.php/pidato/2005/05/19/332.html>.

²⁸⁸ Author's personal interview with senior official from Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 July 2015.

democratic country and an emerging economy, there is a growing perception within the foreign policy establishment that Indonesia has a unique position. This allows Indonesia to bridge the interests of developed and developing countries, North and South, democracies and non-democracies, as well as Western and Muslim-majority countries. As a result, Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder was also extended to security, human rights, and economy. Through this role, President Yudhoyono sought to utilise the realities of Indonesian domestic change to revitalise its position at the regional and global levels.

In his first foreign policy speech in May 2005, Yudhoyono reinterpreted Indonesia's Cold War Doctrine, known as the Independent and Active Foreign Policy, into a foreign policy that emphasises Indonesia as a bridge-builder. Indonesia's aspirational role can be seen in Yudhoyono's foreign policy motto, 'A million Friends, Zero Enemies'.²⁸⁹ During his ten years, Yudhoyono's government continued to enact the role of a bridge-builder in all aspects of Indonesian foreign policy, at both the regional and global levels. Indonesia sought to represent the voice of developing countries to promote dialogue between the North and the South as well as between the West and the Muslim world.²⁹⁰ This can be seen in Indonesia's active role as a bridge-builder in many international platforms such as UN Human Rights Council and the WTO which will be examined further in this thesis.

Overall, this section shows that in the post-authoritarian period, two recently enacted role conceptions emerged, the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights norm and bridge-builder. In economic issues particularly trade, the role as an advocate of democracy was also translated into an auxiliary role as an advocate of trade liberalisation. Both the role as an advocate of democracy and bridge-builder is constructed in light of the reconfiguration of Indonesia's state identity as democratic due to the change in domestic politics and the changes within international order characterised by a power transition. Although these two role conceptions are constructed in response to both the changing of ego and of alter expectations, unlike

²⁸⁹ Yudhoyono, "Speech Before The Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA)."

²⁹⁰ Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, "Indonesia's Role as a Regional and Global Actor" (Wilton Park, November 5, 2012), <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/president-yudhoyonos-speech-at-our-annual-address/>.

the previous two historical roles, these two main roles, are more likely to be challenged by domestic audiences. This is because these two role conceptions are yet to be a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative despite the policymakers' efforts to frame them as such. Thus, this chapter contends that the stability of role conception may not be explained only by the temporal dimension but also due that it should be able to reflect state biographical narrative rather than merely to articulate ego or alter expectations that are captured by foreign policymakers.

Given this discussion, we can conceptualise Indonesia's overarching role conception through the table below.

Table 3.1 Overview of Indonesia's role conceptions

Overarching Role Conception	Sukarno	Suharto	Post-Authoritarian Period
Regional leader	Absent	Directed to the notion of regional resilience	Enhanced ASEAN institutional relevance
Advocate of human rights	Largely a part of the anti-colonial rhetoric, of voice for developing countries	Largely abandoned	Democracy, human rights norms, and trade liberalisation through regional economic integration
Bridge-builder	Absent	Operationalised through auxiliary role as a conflict mediator	Bridged differences in international politics
Voice for developing countries	Anti-colonial	Shifted to advocate of development	Solidarity developing countries

Source: Author

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed at great length the construction of Indonesia's historical roles throughout time. While ego and alter expectations indeed drive the construction of roles, this chapter showed that role conceptions are also closely related to the notion of biographical narrative within the literature on ontological security. The notion of biographical narrative provides insight on the need for foreign policymakers to always link role conceptions with state historical reference to provide a coherent self-identity. This chapter, thus, showed that the incorporation of the literature on ontological security, particularly the notion of biographical narrative, into role theory literature has provided an insightful understanding of the continuity and persistence of role conceptions despite the changes in ego and alter expectations.

In the case of Indonesia, this chapter highlighted that four main role conceptions were simultaneously enacted under Yudhoyono's presidency, namely the role as a voice for developing countries, regional leader, advocate of democracy, and bridge-builder. These four national role conceptions have been enacted to establish Indonesia's status as an important global player.

By tracing the construction of Indonesia's roles, it is evident that the role as a voice for developing countries developed during Sukarno's regime and the role as a regional leader developed under Suharto's regime are entrenched as a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative. The enactment of these two roles articulates Indonesia's sense of stable identity. The roles as an advocate of democracy and a bridge-builder which stemmed from the current ego and alter expectations, arguably, are yet to be a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative. However, this chapter showed that Yudhoyono's administration aimed to frame Indonesia's newly constructed role as a reflection of societal qualities and thus be able to legitimise the enactment of such roles in order to pursue middle power status at regional and global levels.

After examining the construction and the continuity of role conceptions, the next four chapters examine how these role conceptions are strategically utilised as a way for Indonesia to play a greater role at regional and global levels. The next chapter discusses the dynamics of Indonesia's role enactments at the regional level, particularly in regard to democracy and human rights.

PART II INDONESIA IN HUMAN RIGHTS GOVERNANCE

Chapter 4

Inter-role conflict: Indonesia's roles in regional human rights governance

Introduction

In the two decades since the economic crisis of 1998, Indonesia has experienced a drastic shift from an authoritarian regime towards a democratic state. In the 1990s, resisting international pressure for democratisation was one of the dominant features of Indonesian foreign policy. Then, Indonesia's official standpoint towards democracy was sceptical as it stated that the value was incompatible with 'Asian values'. Now, Indonesia emerges as a state that actively advocates the values and principles of democracy in Southeast Asia.²⁹¹ Its role as an advocate of democracy can be seen in Indonesian foreign policy agenda at the regional level. Indonesia is the dominant driving force in establishing a political-security community in Southeast Asia. It has set the agenda for the promotion of democracy and human rights in the region. Since 2008 Indonesia has initiated the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) as a platform to promote democracy through inter-governmental dialogue and partnership in the Asia-Pacific. Furthermore, since 2010, Indonesia has been actively involved in democratic capacity building as well as democratisation in Myanmar.

However, as argued in Chapter 3, in the post-authoritarian period, Indonesia has enacted roles other than an advocate of democracy namely voice for developing countries, regional leader, and bridge-builder. This chapter aims to analyse how the enactment of Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy has been hindered by the emergence of role conflict with other roles enacted by Yudhoyono's administration. Furthermore, it aims to examine to what extent its role as an advocate of democracy at the regional level has been successful.

²⁹¹ Rizal Sukma, "Indonesian Politics in 2009: Defective Elections, Resilient Democracy," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 45, no. 3 (2009).

Many studies of Indonesia's role in promoting democracy take for granted that democracy has indeed become part of Indonesia's new state identity.²⁹² Thus, they widely assume that Indonesia's democracy promotion agenda is a function of Indonesia's democratic identity. This chapter challenges this conviction by demonstrating that a constructivist-based explanation is rather incomplete in understanding Indonesia's policy in promoting democracy. While we can argue that democracy has become Indonesia's state identity, it does not necessarily drive Indonesia's democracy promotion agenda. This chapter argues that Indonesia's aspiring role as an advocate of democracy is not solely a manifestation of a firm and coherent democratic political culture, which is more likely to be a permanent feature of states. Thus, rather than seeing it as firmly established state identity, instead, Indonesia's greater engagement in promoting democratic norms should be seen as a part of the enactment of role conception articulated by foreign policy elites in their aspiration to be emerging middle power. Moreover, its role as a democracy promoter has enabled Indonesia to enhance its other roles conceptions such as a regional leader as well as a bridge-builder in ASEAN. However, this chapter further argues that the inter-role conflicts arising from Indonesia's enactment of multiple roles has hindered its role as an advocate of democracy.

To substantiate this argument, this chapter analyses Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy at the regional level in three case studies which will be discussed in separate sections. First is Indonesia's role in mainstreaming human rights norms in ASEAN's principles and mechanisms. Second is Indonesia's democracy promotion through the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). The last one is Indonesia's democratic and human rights capacity building in Myanmar. The three case studies presented can also shed light on how Indonesia employs different strategies for different audiences as an aspiring democracy promoter. The first case shows Indonesia's effort to promote democratic norm in ASEAN core values. The second case elucidates Indonesia's effort

²⁹² Dewi Fortuna Anwar, "The Impact of Domestic and Asian Regional Changes on Indonesian Foreign Policy," *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2010, no. 1 (April 23, 2011): 126–41; Avery Poole, "The Foreign Policy Nexus: National Interests, Political Values and Identity," in *Indonesia's Ascent: Power, Leadership, and the Regional Order*, ed. Christopher B. Roberts, Ahmad D. Habir, and Leonard C. Sebastian, Critical Studies of the Asia Pacific Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 155–76; Muhammad Wirajuda, "The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, and Conflict Management - LSE Theses Online" (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014), <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/992/>.

to promote democracy through providing a platform for democratic socialisation among democratising and aspiring countries. The last case demonstrates Indonesia's attempt to promote democracy and human rights by gaining trust from Myanmar's military junta. This chapter concludes with an assessment of the extent to which Indonesia has been successful in projecting its role as a democracy promoter in the region despite the constraints imposed by the emergence of role conflict.

Mainstreaming democratic norms in ASEAN

In 2003, Indonesia for the first time held the ASEAN chairmanship as a newly democratised country. During its chairmanship, Indonesia aimed to exercise its role as a regional leader in reviving ASEAN as a regional institution. At the time, ASEAN was perceived to have lost its relevance due to its inability to make Southeast Asian countries cooperate with each other to solve the 1997 Asian financial crisis that hit the region. In June 2003, during an ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, under Wirajuda's leadership, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted a bold proposal for the establishment of the ASEAN Security Community (ASC), later renamed the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC). This proposal was expected to give a new direction for ASEAN to maintain its relevance in the 21st century.²⁹³

Many would argue that Indonesia's choice to play the role of democracy promoter through pushing the agenda of democracy and human rights in ASEAN stems from Indonesia's changing democratic environment at home.²⁹⁴ However, there is hardly any evidence that Indonesia's aspiration to project its democratic identity in ASEAN, which started in 2003, was the result of civil society pressure or other domestic political actors. At the time, projecting a democratic identity was not a top priority in Indonesia, which was still undergoing democratic consolidation and had many domestic political problems that needed to be addressed. Indeed, the Centre for

²⁹³ Sukma, "Indonesian Politics in 2009."

²⁹⁴ Ann Marie Murphy, "Democratization and Indonesian Foreign Policy: Implications for the United States," *Asia Policy* 13, no. 1 (February 3, 2012): 83–111, <https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2012.0011>; Poole, "The Foreign Policy Nexus"; Wirajuda, "The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, and Conflict Management - LSE Theses Online."

Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), an Indonesian think tank, had advocated Indonesia's greater role in putting the agenda of democracy at the heart of ASEAN. In fact, it was a policy paper written by Rizal Sukma, the then Executive Director of CSIS that was adopted by Indonesian foreign policy elites to be used as a background for Indonesia to establish the ASC.²⁹⁵ However, the think tank is widely known to have close relations with the Indonesian government compared with other think-tanks operating in foreign policy circles in Indonesia. Thus, CSIS arguably could be seen as the intellectual source behind Indonesia's strategy to pursue a more democratic ASEAN rather than a non-governmental pressure group.

Indeed, the impetus to promote democracy motivated by foreign policymakers' pursuit to restore Indonesia's role as a regional leader in Southeast Asia might not be directly attributed to the greater civil society involvement in foreign policy-making. However, the role of civil society is by no means unimportant in the project to create a more democratic ASEAN. As a result of the Asian financial crisis, regional NGO networks began to discover the relevance of regional governance.²⁹⁶ This change of attention – before the focus was mainly directed at the global level – also had repercussions on Indonesian NGOs. After all, Indonesian NGOs also participated in the ASEAN People's Forum (APA), convened in 2000 by ASEAN-ISIS think tanks on the Indonesian island of Batam.²⁹⁷ Thus, it can be interpreted that civil society has positively received foreign policymakers' choice to enact the role as an advocate of democracy through putting the agenda of democracy at the heart of ASEAN without any substantial contestation at the beginning of its enactment.

Indonesia, which devised almost major components of the APSC, aimed to transform the ASEAN approach to solving problems, which is highly informal, into a more formal mechanism.²⁹⁸ In doing so, Indonesia introduced an institutional change that

²⁹⁵ Hiro Katsumata, "The Role of ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies in Developing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region," *Asian Journal of Political Science* 11, no. 1 (June 1, 2003): 93–111.

²⁹⁶ Kelly Gerard, "ASEAN and Civil Society Activities in 'Created Spaces': The Limits of Liberty," *The Pacific Review* 27, no. 2 (March 15, 2014): 265–87.

²⁹⁷ Jürgen Rüländ, "The Limits of Democratizing Interest Representation: ASEAN's Regional Corporatism and Normative Challenges," *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 1 (March 1, 2014): 237–61.

²⁹⁸ Author's personal interview with senior researcher in the Habibie Centre, 24 August 2015.

would transform ASEAN into a rules-based organisation that adheres to a specific set of values. Indonesia unilaterally defined the specific set of values as the values of democracy and human rights. In 2006, Hassan Wirajuda reemphasised that:

We know that [ASEAN is] a group of ten diverse countries, some democratic, some half democratic and some military juntas, but we must envision an ASEAN that is democratic and respects human rights.²⁹⁹

Although finally endorsed during the ASEAN Summit in October 2003, the proposal to create the APSC stirred much opposition from other ASEAN countries.³⁰⁰ The reason for this was the agenda of democratisation and the promotion of human rights as the core of the proposal brought to the table by Indonesia.³⁰¹ The consequence of Indonesia's proposal to create a more rules-based organisation for ASEAN was the need for the Association to have a charter as an essential instrument that established new ASEAN goals and objectives as well as the institutional framework for achieving them. At the 11th ASEAN Summit in 2005, for the first time, proposals on the ASEAN Charter, which would transform ASEAN from a loose regional association into a rules-based organisation, were announced.³⁰² The emergence of this idea cannot be separated from Indonesian diplomatic efforts to exercise its role as a regional leader by giving ASEAN a new legal entity as well as new dynamism to cope with new challenges in the 21st century.

The formulation of the ASEAN Charter was a battleground for Indonesia in its efforts to include democracy and human rights in ASEAN's professed values. During the formulation of the Charter, Indonesia played a very active role in pushing for the incorporation of the principles of democracy and respect for human rights in the Charter's preamble. Indonesia maintained its insistence on making democratic values,

²⁹⁹ Rizal Sukma, "Indonesia Finds a New Voice," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (October 14, 2011): 110–23, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2011.0057>.

³⁰⁰ Hao Duy Phan, *A Selective Approach to Establishing a Human Rights Mechanism in Southeast Asia: The Case for a Southeast Asian Court of Human Rights* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2012).

³⁰¹ Author's personal interview with senior official from Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian Issue, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 July 2015.

³⁰² Mely Caballero-Anthony, "The ASEAN Charter: An Opportunity Missed or One That Cannot Be Missed?," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2008, 71–85.

respect for human rights, and freedom fundamental principles of ASEAN.³⁰³ The principles were incorporated into the recommendation made by the Eminent Person Group (EPG), which initially drafted the Charter. A High-Level Task Force – a group of ASEAN state representatives – finalised the EPG’s recommendation and the final draft of the ASEAN Charter was produced.³⁰⁴

Moreover, during the formulation of the ASEAN Charter, Indonesia, represented by Dian Triansjah Djani, the then Director-General of ASEAN cooperation, tried to push other ASEAN countries to accept the importance of ASEAN with regard to having a regional mechanism for the protection of human rights. The push for the creation of a formal regional mechanism shows Indonesia willingness to enhance ASEAN as an institution that has the capacity to ensure the compliance of member states with the principles and agreements made by ASEAN.³⁰⁵

However, Indonesia failed to convince other ASEAN members, especially the new ones - Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam - to agree to create a more concrete mechanism for ASEAN to be able to uphold the principles. The new member countries of ASEAN rejected the idea to establish a robust ASEAN Human Rights Body promoted by Indonesia.³⁰⁶ They viewed Indonesia’s initiative to make human rights a core value of ASEAN with suspicion, believing that Indonesia would bully other non-democratic ASEAN countries to follow the same values that it promoted.³⁰⁷ Despite its failure, at least, Indonesia managed to incorporate Article 14 of the Charter, which requires the establishment of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) as a regional human rights mechanism in Southeast Asia.

Indeed its name clearly shows that the Commission is mainly representing states rather than being an independent commission to monitor states’ action in protecting human rights. However, from its inception, Indonesia voiced that ASEAN Intergovernmental

³⁰³ John D. Ciorciari, “Institutionalizing Human Rights in Southeast Asia,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (August 2, 2012): 695–725, <https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2012.0055>.

³⁰⁴ Rosario G. Manalo and Walter C. M. Woon, *The Making of the ASEAN Charter* (World Scientific, 2009).

³⁰⁵ Manalo and Woon.

³⁰⁶ Donald Weatherbee, *Indonesia in ASEAN: Vision and Reality* (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2013).

³⁰⁷ Caballero-Anthony, “The ASEAN Charter.”

Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) would not only be an advisory forum, which is only talking about the promotion of human rights, but also an institution that has the ability to protect human rights in ASEAN.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, despite its effort to instil a more powerful institutional framework, Indonesia has accepted that the idea to create robust mechanisms and institutions to promote and protect human rights cannot be fully realised within ASEAN governance.

In the discussion of its term of reference, ASEAN members finally agreed that AICHR would have no mandate to open complaint mechanisms, investigation, and respond to cases of human rights violations. In addition, due to its form as an inter-government body, many ASEAN countries were proposing their former high-ranking officials as a commissioner. This has made AICHR into an institution that is subordinate to states.³⁰⁹ The absence of the secretariat of the commission and the lack of support have become a further hindrance for AICHR.³¹⁰ Given the lack of institutional mandate, the AICHR has yet to have a precise formulation regarding the mechanisms to protect human rights, and its activity was limited to promoting human rights rather than protecting them. It is not surprising, after nearly five years of AICHR's inception, the Commission is reaping much criticism especially its inability to protect human rights in Southeast Asia.³¹¹

As shown above, through its role in mainstreaming democratic values in the region, Indonesia was able to gain a role as a regional leader in Southeast Asia by transforming ASEAN to embrace democratic values. However, it was also due to its effort to play a role as a leader in maintaining ASEAN's cohesiveness that Indonesia became less well-positioned in promoting democracy and human rights in the region.³¹² Indonesia's democratic projection in ASEAN's mechanism has been hindered by its aspiration to become a regional leader. As a region builder that emphasises a

³⁰⁸ Author personal interview with former commissioner of AICHR, 15 August 2017.

³⁰⁹ James Munro, "The Relationship between the Origins and Regime Design of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 15, no. 8 (December 1, 2011): 1185–1214, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2010.511996>.

³¹⁰ Ciorciari, "Institutionalizing Human Rights in Southeast Asia."

³¹¹ Mathew Davies, "The Perils of Incoherence: ASEAN, Myanmar and the Avoidable Failures of Human Rights Socialization?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 34, no. 1 (April 7, 2012): 1–22.

³¹² Rizal Sukma, "Indonesia Needs a Post-ASEAN Foreign Policy," *The Jakarta Post*, June 30, 2009, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/06/30/indonesia-needs-a-postasean-foreign-policy.html>.

consensus building approach, Indonesia could not deny the position of new member countries of ASEAN, Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam (CMLV). Those countries were still reluctant to embrace the new values introduced by Indonesia even though several founding members agreed to embrace values that fit with the twenty-first-century reality. These countries did not readily accept Indonesia's efforts to foster new values for ASEAN by introducing democratic norms and values. As a result, Indonesia had to be satisfied with a condition where these values, on paper, are part of the ASEAN principles and goals but there is no formal mechanism to ensure that ASEAN member states follow these values.

Within Southeast Asia, Indonesia continues to emphasise the importance of the role of advocating a particular norm, in this case, democracy. This stems from the conviction that through the role of an advocate of democratic norms, Indonesia can also show its role as a regional leader that puts forward intellectual and normative power rather than material strength. However, as suggested by the analysis above, while the role has not attracted significant domestic contestation, it attracted significant negative expectation from the regional audience. The hindrance for Indonesia to enact its role as an advocate of democracy in ASEAN is the negative expectations from the CLMV countries particularly Myanmar. During the discussion to institutionalise ASEAN through the ASEAN Charter, Myanmar posed a challenge towards the plan since Indonesia proposed to solve the crisis by engaging Myanmar with 'ASEAN enhanced interaction' approach in light of the junta's ban on the major opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), and the arrest of its leader, Aung San Suu Kyi. The approach was proposed to enable ASEAN to provide a dispute resolution instrument regarding the internal crisis in Myanmar. For Myanmar, this move was seen as a way for ASEAN to intervene in Myanmar domestic issues. Cambodia and Laos were supportive towards Myanmar's stance showing the fundamental philosophical divisions within ASEAN concerning democracy and human rights.³¹³ These countries are increasingly assuming that the democratisation agenda in the region undertaken by Indonesia can threaten the position of their regimes that still faced domestic problems, especially about human rights enforcement. Despite being the regional agency that pushes a greater acceptance of human rights norm in

³¹³ Lee Leviter, "The ASEAN Charter: ASEAN Failure or Member Failure," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 43 (2011 2010): 186.

Southeast Asia, the expectation to be a regional leader that could maintain the cohesiveness which is needed to strengthen ASEAN unity required Indonesia not to be seen as an aggressive promoter of the norm. Not to mention the well-established non-interference norm which has been long internalised within ASEAN relations among its member also reduces Indonesia's effort to advocate democratic and rights norms and mechanisms in ASEAN.

Indeed, there is relatively insignificant domestic contestation towards the enactment of Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy and human rights norms at the regional level. However, the state transformation process undergone in Indonesia could not be ignored in affecting the enactment of such roles. The state transformation process with a more significant voice for other domestic actors over foreign policy has provided diverging expectations from the domestic realm. In the case of Indonesia's role conception as an advocate of democracy, a few inter-agential conflicts occurred due to the state transformation process. This is because the issue of democracy and human rights was dominated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that commands all the policy planning as well as policy-making. However, although there is a lack of inter-agential conflict, democratisation has made the foreign policy-making process more pluralistic and democratic as confirmed by many studies on Indonesian foreign policy.³¹⁴ Domestic actors such as parliamentarians and civil society organisations could influence and change the direction of Indonesian foreign policy through their public and political pressure or conduct their own second track diplomacy that advances their agenda that may not be in line with the foreign policy conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.³¹⁵

In the case of Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy in ASEAN, more active parliamentarians in foreign policy arena have become significant actors in raising the ego expectations towards role conceptions enacted by Indonesian foreign policymakers. Although Indonesia's role enactment as an advocate of democracy has met with little domestic contestation, pressure from domestic actors was primarily

³¹⁴ Wirajuda, "The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, and Conflict Management - LSE Theses Online."

³¹⁵ Lee Jones, "Democratization and Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia: The Case of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 3 (September 1, 2009): 387–406.

focused on Indonesia's position in advocating a more robust institutional mechanism for promoting and protecting human rights. Indonesia's preferences to reduce the enactment of an advocate of democracy in light of its other expectations to be a regional leader that focuses on maintaining ASEAN cohesiveness has been criticised by Indonesian domestic actors particularly parliamentarians which pressure Indonesia to be more active in advancing its role as an advocate of democracy in the region.

This can be seen in the House of Representatives (DPR) refusal to ratify the ASEAN Charter. The DPR refusal to ratify the ASEAN Charter was based on two grounds namely procedural and substantial flaws. Procedurally, given the ASEAN Charter was concerned with the public interest, the Indonesian government was deemed not to have consulted with the DPR's foreign committee as a legitimate representative of the public interest. This was reflected in the lack of public consultations and hearings with the people and the civil society for the draft charter. Thus, the House of Representatives considered the ASEAN Charter to have abandoned civil society and contradicted the spirit of the ASEAN Charter which has been forged by the government, which is oriented to the interests of the people.

Substantially, the ASEAN Charter is considered to show no significant progress for the ASEAN community precisely because ASEAN's relationship with the people is not clearly defined in the Charter. ASEAN has become too detached from the broader public debate. Thus, ASEAN is only relevant for the elites in the government, particularly the foreign policy establishment. Moreover, the ASEAN Charter makes ASEAN an overly conservative organisation in terms of the decision-making process because all decisions must be made through a consensus of all members. Lastly, the roadmap for the establishment of the ASEAN Human Rights Board is not explicitly regulated, only vague, and not assertive given that the Article 14 of the Charter is not imperative and binding. These conditions would make the ASEAN Charter seen as a paper tiger against human rights violations by ASEAN member states. Despite the contestation, the parliament finally ratified the ASEAN Charter which made Indonesia the last ASEAN member country to ratify the ASEAN Charter. This was done after the government committed to continue its initiatives to continue making ASEAN a regional institution that promotes democracy and human rights in the region.

As shown above, Indonesia's democracy promotion by institutionalising democratic and human rights norms within ASEAN framework was framed as an instrument for Indonesia to enact its role as a regional leader. In exercising its leadership role in the region, Indonesia's choice to play the role of democracy promoter by pushing the agenda of democracy and human rights in ASEAN could be seen as an appropriate strategy given that the role taken would not attract contestation from the domestic audience. This was the reason why Indonesia hesitated to take an active role in the efforts to revitalise ASEAN through regional economic integration. In fact, the revitalisation of ASEAN through the ASEAN Economic Community was initiated and supported by other ASEAN members such as Singapore. Such an active role would not have been supported by Indonesia's domestic audience and would most likely have created a significant domestic contestation as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Given its vast domestic market and the low competitiveness of Indonesia's domestic economic actors, many feared that Indonesia would only be the market for products from other ASEAN countries. It is no wonder that many Indonesian domestic stakeholders are sceptical about the benefit of implementing the ASEAN Economic Community for the Indonesian economy.³¹⁶ Under Yudhoyono administration, although rhetorically it supported market integration within ASEAN, Indonesia has significantly increased non-tariff measures (NTMs) to limit imports to protect its domestic industry, especially after the global financial crisis.³¹⁷ Some high-ranking Indonesian officials even talk about pushing back against the implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) reforms.³¹⁸ By contrast, taking a leadership role in making ASEAN embrace democratic values would not have triggered a negative response from Indonesia's domestic audience due to the absence of significant actors that actively reject the role enactment. Having no domestic contestation in doing so, Indonesia's foreign policy elites could efficiently mobilise all available resources to push this idea in an attempt to restore the leadership role of Indonesia in the region. This thesis will further discuss and examine the issue of

³¹⁶ Jürgen Rüland, "Why (Most) Indonesian Businesses Fear the ASEAN Economic Community: Struggling with Southeast Asia's Regional Corporatism," *Third World Quarterly* 37, no. 6 (June 2, 2016): 1130–45.

³¹⁷ Alexander C. Chandra, "Regional Economic Building Amidst Rising Protectionism and Economic Nationalism in ASEAN," *Journal of ASEAN Studies* 4, no. 1 (2016): 1–19.

³¹⁸ Zubaidah Nazeer, "Ambivalence in Indonesia towards AEC," *The Strait Times*, n.d., <http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/ambivalence-in-indonesia-towards-aec>.

domestic contestation of Indonesia's role in regional economic governance in Chapter 6.

Our analysis above is in line with Emmers' finding which shows that Indonesia's leadership has been limited to the political and security realms while other countries such as Singapore have taken a more active role in other realms such as the economy.³¹⁹ While Indonesia's incomplete and sectoral leadership might stem from its unwillingness to provide public goods in realms other than politics and security, this explanation is rather partial. The effort to reduce domestic contestation also drives Indonesia's tendency to play an intellectual and entrepreneurial leadership role in political and security issues. Its attempt to exercise leadership by promoting democratic values in ASEAN, however, cannot be considered entirely successful. This is because, despite being stated as a normative value of ASEAN, the norm has had little impact on the domestic governance of ASEAN members. Recent events in Thailand where the military again took control of the government in 2014 might suggest that democracy is a receding force in the region.

Another interesting point within Indonesia's efforts in enacting the role as an advocate of democracy in the region is the strategic importance of the role to enhance both Yudhoyono's domestic and foreign policy objectives to pursue international status as an emerging middle power. Although Indonesia was still struggling to consolidate its democracy and internalise democratic norms, Indonesian foreign policy elites had already envisioned the value of democracy and human rights in the Southeast Asia regional order.³²⁰ This shows that the role as an advocate of democracy is rather a new role devised to accommodate international expectations, mainly from the Western powers on Indonesia's transformation to a democratic state.

Indonesia's significant efforts to enact the role as an advocate of democracy in the region despite the volatile democratic transition at home can be attributed to two main factors. First, for a domestic audience, Indonesian policymakers during Yudhoyono's administration aimed to further lock in Indonesian democratic transition through the enactment of such roles. By building a foreign policy that adheres to a democratic

³¹⁹ Ralf Emmers, "Indonesia's Role in ASEAN: A Case of Incomplete and Sectorial Leadership," *The Pacific Review* 27, no. 4 (August 8, 2014): 543–62.

³²⁰ Sukma, "Indonesia Finds a New Voice."

agenda, it is less likely for the next government to return to an authoritarian tendency. Hence, Yudhoyono's tenure could be seen as the period which stabilised Indonesia's democratic transition. Second, for an international audience, given that, in the beginning, the democratic norm was not fully embraced within Indonesian domestic political discourse, Indonesian policymakers, especially within Ministry of Foreign Affairs, aim to localise the alter expectation within foreign policy arena. By doing so, although the Indonesian democratic transition may not have led to the advancement of democratic norms within a domestic context, the Yudhoyono administration could frame the foreign policy agenda that promoted democracy as a proof of the success of Indonesia's democratic transition to the international audience. This could enhance Indonesia's relations with Western powers such as the United States and provide assets for Indonesia to play a more significant role at the global level as an emerging middle power.

Sharing democracy through the Bali Democracy Forum

Besides its efforts to instil democratic and human rights norms in ASEAN's mechanisms and objectives albeit with many constraints, Indonesia also demonstrated its aspiration to become a leader in the promotion of democracy in the Asia-Pacific by initiating the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) in 2008. The BDF is the first intergovernmental forum in the Asia-Pacific that focuses on regional cooperation in the field of democracy and political development. The BDF is not only a platform to promote democratic norm but also emerges as an important platform for the promotion of human rights. The forum is a response to the absence of a regional mechanism to promote democracy in the Asia-Pacific region.³²¹ Compared with other regions such as Latin America and Africa, surprisingly, Asia still lags behind in its efforts to promote political development and democracy through regional partnership.

As stated by Yudhoyono, cooperation and integration of the region at various levels – especially in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific – are more focused on economic aspects,

³²¹ Anwar, "The Impact of Domestic and Asian Regional Changes on Indonesian Foreign Policy."

namely the efforts to overcome the development gap.³²² However, in reality, there is an urgent need to overcome the ‘political development gap’. While Asia is also home to another democratic emerging power, India, it tries to avoid framing its foreign policy in terms of supporting democracy due to geopolitical considerations.³²³ Indonesian foreign policy elites have observed that Indonesia’s initiative for regional partnership can fill this gap.

Indeed, Indonesia was not the only country that had such an initiative for the Asia-Pacific region. In mid-2007, during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit, then US President, George W. Bush proposed a new regional partnership in the Asia-Pacific to foster cooperation in enhancing the agenda of democracy.³²⁴ The idea of regional democracy partnership was to counter the growing impact of the Beijing Consensus as an alternative model of political and economic development, promoted by China.³²⁵ This new regional democracy partnership crystallised in the form of the Asia-Pacific Democracy Partnership (APDP), which was fully backed by the United States.

From the beginning, Indonesia was invited to join the US-led regional democracy partnership in the Asia-Pacific. Indonesia was one of twelve initial members of the APDP and even attended the first APDP Senior Official Meeting in October 2008 in Seoul, South Korea. Although normatively Indonesia supported the US initiative, it appears that it did not respond enthusiastically to the formation of the APDP.³²⁶ Indonesia’s lack of enthusiasm might have been due to the substantial US involvement in initiating the forum and setting up the agenda of the new regional partnership. For Indonesian policymakers, the agenda was seen as being too Western in its bias; treating democracy narrowly as an electoral and procedural democracy. Furthermore,

³²² Elias Ginting et al., “Speeches and Proceedings Bali Democracy Forum III : Democracy and the Promotion of Peace and Stability, Bali, Indonesia, 9-10 December 2010 / Editors, Elias Ginting [and Five Others]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, 2010), <http://www.ipd.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Speeches-and-Proceedings-of-BDF-III.pdf>.

³²³ Arijit Mazumdar and Erin Statz, “Democracy Promotion in India’s Foreign Policy: Emerging Trends and Developments,” *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 42, no. 2 (April 3, 2015): 77–98.

³²⁴ Gregg Andrew Brazinsky, “The United States and Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia,” *Asian Perspective* 32, no. 2 (2008): 21–36.

³²⁵ Daniel Twining, “Democratic Partnership in Asia,” *Policy Review*, 2010, <http://www.hoover.org/research/democratic-partnership-asia>.

³²⁶ Kelley Currie, “Mirage Or Reality?: Asia’s Emerging Human Rights and Democracy Architecture” (Arlington VA,: Project 2049 Institute, 2010).

Indonesia's reluctance to play an active role in the APDP was also caused by the exclusivity of the grouping, reflected in the fact that the majority of its members were US allies in the region.³²⁷ Indonesia feared that this exclusive grouping would merely become an instrument to isolate China from the architecture of regional cooperation. In this case, we see a clear manifestation of Indonesia's national role conception as a bridge-builder which drives its foreign policy to include China and the US in various initiatives for regional mechanisms. Given the waning of America's image during the Bush administration, Indonesia's initiative gained a more positive response from countries in the Asia-Pacific.

Indonesia's initiative in creating the regional mechanism for promoting democracy through the BDF shows its willingness to scale up its efforts to promote democracy from Southeast Asia to a broader Asia-Pacific.³²⁸ Given the limitations it faced in the promotion of democratic values in ASEAN as well as its rising status in the international arena, Indonesia has enabled the BDF to play a more prominent role outside of the confines of ASEAN. Although intended as cooperation among countries in the Asia-Pacific region, BDF meetings are attended by countries not only from the Asia-Pacific but also from the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America.

The Western powers have strongly supported Indonesia's initiative to launch the Bali Democracy Forum. The United States, through Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, supported Indonesia's leadership in supporting democratic values through organising the forum. Australia even provided material support to this Indonesian initiative. Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd once mentioned in the Bali Democracy Forum that Australia is 'proud to support Indonesia in this important regional initiative'. Prime Minister Rudd in his post as co-chair in 2008, also stated that Australia should be dealing with the extent of democracy in this expanded region, and that building and consolidating democracy is also 'a strategic agenda' for Australia.³²⁹

³²⁷ Weatherbee, *Indonesia in ASEAN*.

³²⁸ Author's personal interview with Indonesian diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 10 August 2015.

³²⁹ Kevin Rudd, "Bali Democracy Forum Opening Bali, Indonesia" (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, December 10, 2012), <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-16304>.

Unlike the ASEAN Political-Security Community, President Yudhoyono and Foreign Minister Wirajuda did not envision the BDF as a formal and highly institutionalised mechanism for democracy partnership in the Asia-Pacific. Instead, it was designed to be a very loose mechanism in which countries in the Asia-Pacific could share their experiences and thoughts about democracy comfortably without having to follow a specific unilateral standard of democracy.³³⁰ The reason for making the BDF a loose mechanism was due to Indonesia's circumspection not to be perceived as a country that pushes the agenda for a specific democratic model.

In practice, the BDF is a place for member countries to share experiences and best practices in efforts to find the best way to strengthen the democratisation process in each country. The BDF stresses the importance of equal, constructive dialogue, mutual respect and understanding to enhance cooperation and promote democracy in the region.³³¹ In the inaugural Bali Democracy Forum in 2008, which had the theme '*Building and Consolidating Democracy: A Strategic Agenda for Asia*', President Yudhoyono stated that the idea of the BDF was not to impose a particular model of democracy, nor to discuss a standard definition of democracy. The idea behind the forum was to share experiences, thoughts and ideas to improve the cooperation of democracy, no matter what political system developed. The President also stressed that there is no perfect democracy; democracy is never ending and still growing.³³²

Thus, from the beginning, Indonesia did not articulate its approach and definition of the ideal democracy that it supposes to promote through the BDF. Rather, Indonesia conceptualised it as an inclusive forum for countries that have become democratic as well as countries having an aspiration to become democratic to share their best practices in promoting democracy within their national political systems. While designing the BDF, Indonesian foreign policymakers did not see democracy promotion as the imposition of Indonesia's state interests and historical experiences on others.³³³ On the contrary, democracy promotion is understood as an opportunity

³³⁰ Author's personal interview with former senior Indonesian diplomat, 11 August 2015.

³³¹ Pribadi Sutiono et al., eds., "Speeches and Proceedings Bali Democracy Forum: Building and Consolidating Democracy : A Strategic Agenda for Asia : Bali, Indonesia, 10-11 December 2008" (Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia : Institute for Peace and Democracy, 2008).

³³² Sutiono et al.

³³³ Halans, Michaël and Danitsja Nassy, "Expert Seminar Report: The Bali Democracy Forum and Beyond," Expert seminar report (Den Haag: Netherlands institute of International Relations

to provide a condition for democratic learning and socialisation among countries that have an aspiration to be democratic or that are undergoing the process of democratisation.

The inclusivity of the BDF, which also embraces authoritarian regimes, is one of the characteristics that distinguish it from the democracy promotion initiatives set up by Western countries. It is no wonder, given its inclusivity, that the BDF has been criticised for inviting non-democratic countries. As argued by Carothers and Youngs, the BDF is seen by many critics as a forum that gives ‘autocrats a platform to extol the virtues of their political models without facing any serious pressure to meet universal democratic standards’.³³⁴

While many critics see the inclusivity of the BDF as its weakness, Indonesian officials see it as one of the strengths of the BDF. As stated by President Yudhoyono, the BDF is not a forum for debating ‘a commonly agreed definition’ but one that aims to outline a ‘set of issues relevant to democratic development’.³³⁵ Through the inclusivity of BDF, Indonesia can play a greater role in bridging the differences in perceiving democracy between established democracies, new democracies and authoritarian regimes.

Clingendael), accessed September 8, 2017, <https://www.clingendael.org/publication/expert-seminar-report-bali-democracy-forum-and-beyond>.

³³⁴ Thomas Carothers and Richard Youngs, “Looking for Help: Will Rising Democracies Become International Democracy Supporters?,” The Carnegie Democracy and Rule of Law Program (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), accessed September 8, 2017, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/07/12/looking-for-help-will-rising-democracies-become-international-democracy-supporters-pub-45018>.

³³⁵ Sutiono et al., “Speeches and Proceedings Bali Democracy Forum.”

Table 4.1 Number of representations in BDF by region

Regional Representation	BDF 1	BDF 2	BDF 3	BDF 4	BDF 5	BDF 6
East Asia and the Pacific	17	16	20	16	13	20
Middle East	7	6	12	14	11	14
South and Central Asia	8	13	12	8	14	11
Central and Eastern Europe		1	5	12	18	12
Western Europe		10	14	14	13	15
South America and the Caribbean			2	4	3	4
Africa			2	6	3	8
North and Central America		2	2	3	2	3
International Organization			2	4	7	8
Total	32	48	71	81	84	95

Source: Institute for Peace and Democracy, <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf>

Table 4.2 Number of high-ranking officials attending BDF

Type of Officials	BDF 1	BDF 2	BDF 3	BDF 4	BDF 5	BDF 6
Head of States	4	5	5	9	15	3
Ministerial Level Official and Head of IO	13	25	25	14	24	22

Source: Institute for Peace and Democracy, <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf>

The above tables show an increase in the number of participants in the BDF and an increase in the number of high-ranking officials and heads of state who were present at the BDF. For the Indonesian government, this demonstrates the growing support of the international community from various regions of the world for the BDF. Many high-ranking officials in Indonesia believe that the Forum has successfully brought a change in several countries undergoing a democratisation process in which Indonesia has built long-term cooperation to improve their democracies such as in Myanmar and Fiji.³³⁶ For Indonesia, through the BDF, countries that had been reluctant to talk about democracy have begun to open up. This is evident in the statements delivered by several governments, including Myanmar and Qatar, in which they emphasised the problems they faced in an attempt to make the government more open and responsive to political democracy.³³⁷

Indonesia's choice to create a multilateral forum for its endeavour to promote democracy rather than having bilateral cooperation has indicated Indonesia's willingness to be seen as the non-Western leader in promoting democracy in the Asia-Pacific in which the US has failed to do so. This multilateral strategy also shows Indonesia's aspiration for middle power status which emphasises on multilateralism. Through multilateralism, Indonesia can exhibit its capability to enact the role as a bridge-builder that it has developed along another role as an advocate of democracy.

To further demonstrate its commitment for promoting democracy, in addition to initiating the Bali Democracy Forum, the Indonesian government also established the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) as the implementing agency for the agenda agreed at the Bali Democracy Forum. This government-sponsored non-governmental organisation that is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of National Education aims to implement various programs in the field of democratic development in Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific. IPD is quite active in providing training on the strengthening of democracy for countries in the Asia-Pacific such as training for

³³⁶ Author's personal interview with official with the Directorate of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 12 August 2015.

³³⁷ Priyadi Sutiono et al., "Speeches and Proceedings Bali Democracy Forum II : Promoting Synergy between Democracy and Development in Asia : Prospects for Regional Cooperation, Bali, 10-11 December 2009 / Editors, Priyadi Sutiono [and Five Others]" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia : Institute for Peace and Democracy, 2009), <http://www.ipd.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Speeches-and-Proceedings-of-BDF-II.pdf>.

members of election commissions in Myanmar and training activities to assist in the establishment of democratic institutions in Fiji. In fact, not only in the Asia-Pacific region, but the agency was also active in conducting dialogues and share the experience with Egypt and Tunisia.³³⁸ IPD activities are mainly organising discussions, workshops, training, and conversation as the main agenda in sharing experiences. From 2013 Indonesia has done more programs that are of direct support to the process of democratic development. For example, in the case of Myanmar, IPD helped empower the Myanmar election commission and the national commission of human rights through a variety of training that will provide benefits to the institutions in the country.³³⁹

Indeed, the fact that the number of relevant participants has been on the rise is not *per se* a persuasive argument that Indonesia is successfully promoting democracy. On the contrary, the BDF tends to confirm the view of those who argue that the forum with its vague conceptualisation of democracy gives authoritarian countries or hybrid regimes an excellent forum for legitimising their non-democratic practices. However, the increased number of participants shows that indeed Indonesia can play a bridge-builder role and there is an acceptance by the international community of Indonesia's aspiring role to be a new player in promoting democracy in the Asia-Pacific.

Despite the criticisms regarding the lack of a direct impact of the forum on democratisation in Asia-Pacific countries, Indonesia's initiative through the BDF can be regarded as the implementation of an alternative way of promoting democracy by a so-called emerging democratic power. As argued by several scholars,³⁴⁰ the emergence of new democratic powers has created an expectation from the international community, especially Western countries, for them to fill the gap in democracy promotion, which cannot be filled by Western countries due to the differences in the trajectories of their democracy and that of many non-Western countries. Through the BDF, Indonesia has shown that democracy promotion is not

³³⁸ Author's personal interview with official from Directorate of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta, 16 June 2015.

³³⁹ Hassan Wirajuda, "Myanmar Steps from the Shadows," *Strategic Review*, December 2014, http://www.sr-indonesia.com/in_the_journal/view/myanmar-steps-from-the-shadows?pg=all.

³⁴⁰ Carothers and Youngs, "Looking for Help: Will Rising Democracies Become International Democracy Supporters?"; Oliver Stuenkel, "Rising Powers and the Future of Democracy Promotion: The Case of Brazil and India," *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (March 1, 2013): 339–55.

exclusively the agenda of Western countries. The BDF can provide an alternative platform for discussing the importance of building a home-grown democracy rooted in tradition and the values of non-Western society.

The inclusivity of the BDF arguably is the reflection of Indonesia's aspiring role as a bridge-builder. Rather than treating democracy promotion as a tool for the regime or domestic political change, Indonesia sees promoting democracy as a way to provide a platform for countries with the different domestic political environment to understand their progress and development as well as issues faced. As argued by Briggs et al., Indonesia's initiative to promote democracy through Bali Democracy Forum shows Indonesia's domestic struggle to navigate unity with diversity.³⁴¹ Indonesia's democratic transformation as a part of broader state transformation occurring with the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime has put Indonesia in a complicated position.

While Indonesia, indeed, has moved forward to be more democratic despite some caveats and has been increasingly reflected in its international status, the foreign policy posture that has been influenced by role conception as a voice of developing countries making it at odds with liberal western expectations. On the one hand, to capture both Indonesia's domestic changes as well as international expectation as a result from such changes, foreign policymakers aimed to elevate Indonesia's role as an advocate of the norm, in this case, an advocate of democracy to increase its international status. On the other hand, Indonesia needs to sustain a role conception of voice for developing countries that require it to not fully embrace Western liberal norm that has long been seen suspiciously by Indonesia in particular and developing countries from the Global South in general.

This also cannot be separated from the notion of democracy as a hegemonic instrument used by the West and has become the top priority for the US foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. US hegemony and the promotion of democracy continue to go hand in hand. Many nationalist elites from developing countries persist in seeing the global goal of promoting democracy is to achieve US hegemony. By integrating the promotion of democracy with various economic, social and cultural policies, arguably

³⁴¹ Morgan Brigg et al., "Diversity, Democratisation and Indonesian Leadership," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 4 (July 3, 2016): 407–21.

the US has sought to strategically penetrate not only the state but also the civil society and then exercise control in it.³⁴²

To redeem such a role conflict that may create incoherence in Indonesia's biographical narrative, Indonesia's initiative to promote democratic and human rights norms has been framed to increase Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder. In this context, the enactment of a role as a bridge-builder would lessen the potential conflict between Indonesia's new role as an advocate of democracy and its long-standing role as a voice for developing countries that have been entrenched as Indonesia's biographical narrative.

Thus, the BDF has become an essential platform for Indonesia to perform its role as a bridge-builder between democratic countries and countries that are in the process of democratisation and even countries that do not adhere to a democratic system. However, due to its nature as a bridge-building forum, the BDF only serves as a talking shop for democracy rather than a place to implement the practical agenda of democracy promotion. Even though Indonesia could demonstrate an alternative model in promoting democracy through emphasising democratic socialisation and learning as its central methods, the BDF is hardly likely to have a direct impact on countries undergoing democratisation.

However, unlike Indonesia's democracy promotion within ASEAN framework that can be framed as an instrument for Indonesia to enact its role as a regional leader and thus has attracted less domestic contestation, Indonesia's role in democracy promotion through BDF has invited domestic contestation from several political actors in Indonesia especially civil societies and parliamentarians. Many critics find Indonesia's democratic projection becomes worthless since it has no impact on the condition of democracy and human rights agenda back home. As argued by one parliamentarian:

Bali Democracy Forum is only a project to boost the image of the government in the international community. It fails to improve life nationwide because the

³⁴² William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

government seems to only focus on international affairs in such an event instead of promoting our national interests.³⁴³

This domestic contestation of Indonesia's role as democracy promoter is believed to contribute to the strengthening of Indonesia's democratic consolidation at home. This is evident from the Yudhoyono administration's response in addressing the domestic issue regarding the efforts by several major political parties to eliminate direct elections which are regarded as a threat to Indonesia's democracy. By the end of the Yudhoyono administration, political parties that are forming the ruling coalition in the Yudhoyono administration, including the political party led by him, approved the Law No. 17/2013 on Community Organizations and Law No. 22/2014 on local elections. For civil society, the laws are considered to restrict the freedom of democracy in Indonesia, particularly Law No. 22/2014 which abolished direct elections of regional heads.³⁴⁴

When the government was preparing Bali Civil Society Forum, which is part of the Bali Democracy Forum, in 2014, eleven out of the 14 civil society organisations invited refused to attend. Moreover, the majority of non-government organisations that focus on enhancing democratic agenda in Indonesia refused to attend the 7th Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) in Nusa Dua, Bali, 2014. They considered the forum initiated by the Indonesian government to be nothing more than a ceremonial event without significant benefits for the development of democracy given the recent law enacted by Yudhoyono's government. According to civil society representatives, since its first forum held on 10-11 December 2008, the BDF that the government of Indonesia has stood for as an intergovernmental democracy building forum in the Asia-Pacific region has been criticised for not involving civil society.

Moreover, civil society criticises that Indonesia's democracy is failing due to several moves by major political parties. Less than a month before the Bali Democracy Forum, Yudhoyono finally rejected the new law approved by parliament by issuing Government Regulation substituting the Law No. 1/2014 to restore the direct election

³⁴³ the Jakarta Post, "4 Years on, Democracy Forum 'Brings Significant Change,'" *The Jakarta Post*, November 8, 2012, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/11/08/4-years-democracy-forum-brings-significant-change.html#sthash.hve0yjZS.dpuf>.

³⁴⁴ Author's personal interview with democracy activist, INFID, 20 July 2016.

system. Many democracy activists believe that although the party he leads also supported this law, Yudhoyono response by annulling the law is mainly driven by to the existence of democracy promotion agenda in Indonesia's foreign policy. Civil society representatives see that projecting the identity of democracy to the international community has created moral consequences for Indonesian policymakers to safeguard Indonesian democracy.³⁴⁵ Thus, incorporating a democratic identity in Indonesia's foreign policy can have an unintended consequence in locking in Indonesia's democratic development and keeping it on track.

Indonesia's engagement in Myanmar's democratisation

Given the need for Indonesia to exercise its role as democracy promoter, efforts to assist the democratisation process in Myanmar have become one of the most critical agendas in Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia's success in managing its democratic consolidation and its similar historical path with Myanmar has given Indonesia credibility in playing a role in the transition of Myanmar.³⁴⁶ Moreover, Indonesia has been expected by the international community to play a more significant role in the democratisation process in Myanmar. In 2008, the United Nations (UN) officially asked Indonesia to play a more significant role in maintaining communication with the leadership of Myanmar, as well as in following up the democratisation process in the country. Then UN Secretary-General General Ban Ki-Moon called President Yudhoyono and asked Indonesia to contribute to realising democracy in Myanmar.³⁴⁷

This expectation has, to some extent, driven Indonesia's active involvement in Myanmar's democratisation. Indonesia's role is also becoming more important due to two factors. First, compared with other regions such as Africa and Latin America, Southeast Asia is one of the regions that had a democratic deficit in its regional

³⁴⁵ Author's personal interview with senior advisor, the Human Rights Working Groups (HRWG), 16 July 2015.

³⁴⁶ Lilian Budianto, "Indonesia's 'Credibility to Play Role' in Myanmar Transition," *The Jakarta Post*, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/04/14/indonesia%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98credibility-play-role%E2%80%99-myanmar-transition.html>.

³⁴⁷ Antaranews, "PBB Harapkan Peran RI Dalam Proses Demokratisasi Di Myanmar," *Antaranews.Com*, February 13, 2008, <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/93406/pbb-harapkan-peran-ri-dalam-proses-demokratisasi-di-myanmar>.

mechanisms that require a more bilateral approach to dealing with a country undergoing democratisation. Although Indonesia has initiated the APSC and the BDF as a platform for promoting democracy, in the case of Myanmar, those two platforms are not sufficient for the democratisation process due to the lack of a specific mechanism to enforce the values of democracy and human rights. Secondly, the United States and international non-governmental organisations that have campaigned for democratisation in Myanmar have realised that their approach to pushing Myanmar through sanctions and international isolation have not resulted in progress regarding democratisation in Myanmar.³⁴⁸ In fact, this only made the military junta regime in Myanmar lose confidence in the international community. This has resulted in the junta's increasing antipathy and suspicion towards the international community's efforts to help the process of democratisation in Myanmar.

Indonesia's strategy in dealing with Myanmar's military junta is somewhat different from that commonly employed by Western countries, which usually use a naming and shaming approach. Indonesia has tended to enact its role as a bridge-builder between isolated Myanmar and the international community. Since taking office in 2004, rhetorically, the Yudhoyono administration has always defended Myanmar's authoritarian regime from the pressures of the international community. Every time Western powers have put pressure on Myanmar with regard to primarily human rights issues, the Indonesian government has always asked the international community to be patient about the democratisation process in Myanmar although it also continues to keep asking the government of Myanmar to prove its achievements in the democratisation process.³⁴⁹

In approaching Myanmar's military junta, Indonesia stresses the merits of a quiet diplomatic approach rather than megaphone diplomacy, which serves as a diplomatic instrument to persuade Myanmar to move towards democracy. As argued by See Seng Tan,³⁵⁰ it was persuasion rather than coercion that worked best to engage Myanmar

³⁴⁸ Jürgen Haacke, "ASEAN and Political Change in Myanmar: Towards a Regional Initiative?," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 30, no. 3 (December 21, 2008): 351–78.

³⁴⁹ Author's personal interview with senior official with Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian issues, 15 July 2015.

³⁵⁰ See Seng Tan and Amitav Acharya, *Bandung Revisited: The Legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference for International Order* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008).

constructively. In order to persuade the military regime, periodically President Yudhoyono conducted personal correspondence with top military junta leaders in Myanmar. In that correspondence, the Indonesian president always asked about the progress that has been made by the military government in the promotion of democracy in Myanmar. Furthermore, Indonesia has, several times, sent a former reformist general, Agus Widjojo, as a special envoy to Myanmar. The assignment of a former general as a special envoy is intended to make the military junta feel comfortable to communicate with Indonesia.³⁵¹

As a former military leader himself, President Yudhoyono understood that while democratisation should be conducted, it must not harm territorial integrity or internal stability within Myanmar. Indonesia's experience of democratisation, which almost led to its disintegration, has shaped Indonesia's approach to Myanmar democratisation, which emphasises Myanmar's territorial integrity and stability. Due to Indonesia's approach, Myanmar saw Indonesia under Yudhoyono's leadership as a close friend that contributed constructively to the process of democratisation in the country.³⁵²

When ethnic unrest in Myanmar that led to the killing of ethnic minority Rohingya Muslims erupted in June 2012, unlike the international community, which immediately strongly condemned the incident, the Indonesian government asked the government of Myanmar to allow Indonesia to participate in solving Myanmar's internal conflict. The initial step taken by Indonesia was to provide assistance in the form of basic commodities valued at US\$1 million to the Myanmar government. This assistance was used to reinforce the goodwill of Indonesia in assisting Myanmar to solve the problem of communal conflict and human rights violations committed against Rohingya Muslims. Given the high-level of confidence that Myanmar had in Indonesia, Indonesia became the only country allowed to send a delegation to enter the conflict area and see first-hand the conditions of the conflict on the ground.³⁵³

³⁵¹ Author's personal interview with senior official, Agency for Policy Review and Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 13 July 2015.

³⁵² Jarno Lang, "Indonesia-Myanmar Relations: Promoting Democracy in South-East Asia," *Fairobserver*, 2012, http://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/indonesia-myanmar-relations-promoting-democracy-south-east-asia/.

³⁵³ Author's personal interview with official within Directorate of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 10 August 2015.

Indonesia also played an important role in bridging the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) with Myanmar's military junta. Indonesia criticised the OIC over its handling of the Rohingya Muslim minority in Myanmar, which often makes a strong statement without acting significantly to resolve the problems faced by the Rohingya. This approach has made the Myanmar's military regime distrusts the OIC. In bridging this distrust, Indonesia tried to communicate directly with the Myanmar government regarding the importance of the international community in monitoring the situation relating to the Rohingya.³⁵⁴

The junta finally considered Indonesia's proposal to allow representatives of the UN and the OIC to come and witness the conditions in Myanmar as well as allowing a dialogue with the Myanmar government.³⁵⁵ Due to Indonesia's bridging role, the OIC appreciates the role of the Indonesian Government on this issue and hopes that Indonesia can give direction to the OIC to contribute constructively to the settlement of the Rohingya issue. In this context, Indonesia plays a significant role in bridging the gap between isolated Myanmar and the international community.

While it did not happen quickly, as in Indonesia, the changes towards more democratic measures in Myanmar were indeed gradually and carefully implemented. One of the crucial changes in Myanmar politics, among others, is the issuance of the Law on Freedom of the Press. With the enactment of the Law, Myanmar entered a new phase of the democratic transition, especially in the context of freedom of the press, which is one of the essential pillars of democracy. Freedom of the press in Indonesia has become a reference for the Myanmar government, and Indonesia helped Myanmar in its efforts to design its law regarding this issue through several capacity building programs. The Myanmar Law on the Press heavily adopted some of the law on the

³⁵⁴ Author's personal interview with official within Directorate of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 10 August 2015.

³⁵⁵ Ahmed Adam, "Understanding the Role of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in Human Rights," Forum-Asia Working Paper Series: Asian Perspectives on International Human Rights Landscape (Bangkok: Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development (FORUM-ASIA), 2014), <http://www.forum-asia.org/uploads/publications/2014/September/FA%20Working%20Paper%201-OIC%20and%20human%20rights.pdf>.

press and broadcasting in Indonesia, namely Law No. 40/1999 on Press and Law No. 32/2002 on Broadcasting.³⁵⁶

Indonesian foreign policy that did not follow Western outcry to condemn human rights atrocities in Myanmar and instead enacted its role as a promoter of democracy through its bilateral democratic cooperation has been praised by U Thein Sein then chief of the Myanmar junta. He considered Indonesia under President Yudhoyono as a true friend who fully understood the situation faced by Myanmar in the international arena and often gives suggestions for the improvement of democracy in Myanmar.³⁵⁷ This suggests that the Myanmar military junta has well received Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy.

Indonesia's role as a promoter of democracy has been well received not only by the junta but also by the international community. United States Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, expressed her appreciation to President Yudhoyono for his role in ensuring the progress of the reform and democratisation process in Myanmar. The US also appreciated Indonesia's bridge-building role in responding to and addressing the internal conflict between the ethnic Rohingyas and Rhakines in Myanmar.³⁵⁸

However, Indonesia's bridging role in Myanmar has been contested by Indonesian domestic actors. Due to Islamic sentiment regarding human rights abuse against Rohingya people, many domestic actors in Indonesia expressed dissatisfaction with Indonesia government for its lacklustre support of significant change in human rights protection in Myanmar. For instance, Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) condemned all forms of violence against Rohingya Muslims in Burma and urged the Indonesian government to play an active role in resolving the issue. Some political conservative Muslim groups urged the Indonesian government to send a diplomatic protest note to the Government of Myanmar. Several Islamic organisations held a demonstration condemning the violence against Rohingya Muslims in front of Myanmar Embassy.

³⁵⁶ Author's personal interview with researcher from Human Rights Working Group, 15 July 2015.

³⁵⁷ Marwaan Macan Markar, "Indonesia's Special Relationship with Burma Faces Testing Times," *The Irrawaddy*, 2013, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/asia/indonesias-special-relationship-with-burma-faces-testing-times.html>.

³⁵⁸ antaranews, "US Supports Indonesia's APEC 2013 Chairmanship," *Antara*, 2012, <http://en.antaranews.com/news/84329/us-supports-indonesias-apec-2013-chairmanship>.

Furthermore, the Indonesian parliament also stated that the tragedy could be categorised as gross human rights violations and urged the Indonesian government to implement the responsibility to protect.³⁵⁹ This domestic contestation was not positively incorporated within Indonesian foreign policy agenda by policymakers given that in dealing with Myanmar, Indonesia want to keep enacting a bridge-builder role.

Despite the domestic call, Indonesian foreign policymakers preferred to maintain its role as a bridge-builder for Myanmar by restraining themselves from putting pressure on Myanmar. Indonesia considered action against Myanmar, such as isolating or removing it from the membership of ASEAN was not a solution to resolve the problems experienced by ethnic Rohingya. As stated by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Armanatha Nasir, given the closeness of the relationship between Indonesia and Myanmar are as close as brothers, Indonesia should be involved in finding solutions rather than putting pressure on Myanmar.³⁶⁰ Thus, Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder despite enabling Indonesia to play a more constructive role in assisting the process of democratisation in Myanmar tends to make Indonesia shield Myanmar's abusive regime from regional and international scrutiny.

Arguably, Indonesian policymakers' rejection to condemn Myanmar could be attributed to Indonesia's historical past particularly in dealing with East Timor which makes Indonesia careful in dealing with the human rights atrocities in Myanmar by not openly criticising Myanmar's military junta. Not to mention that Indonesia's current allegation of human rights abuse that may threaten its ontological security was also a consideration for policymakers to reduce its enactment of a particular role. As I will further substantiate in the next chapters that follow, the interaction between Indonesia's enactments of particular role conception with its biographical narrative is a powerful explanation in understanding why particular roles are enacted in one case but not in the other and why some domestic contestation could not change the enactment of a particular role.

³⁵⁹ Author's personal interview with member of Indonesian Parliament from Foreign Affairs Committee, Jakarta, 15 June 2015.

³⁶⁰ Leonard AL Cahyoputra, "Tindakan Tegas Myanmar Bukan Solusi Masalah Rohingya," *Beritasatu.Com*, May 25, 2015, <http://www.beritasatu.com/dunia/276677-tindakan-tegas-myanmar-bukan-solusi-masalah-rohingya.html>.

Given the discussion above, the chapter does not claim that democratisation happening in Myanmar is solely a result of Indonesia's role in promoting democracy. A substantial domestic political shift, as well as other factors, are contributing to the improved condition in Myanmar. Instead, this chapter highlights how Indonesia's role as a democracy promoter in Myanmar is enacted in light of Indonesia's pursuit of a role as a bridge-builder and to some extent it arguably also constrains Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy in Myanmar. Some civil society organisations argued that Indonesia's policy towards Myanmar has made Indonesia tend to shield Myanmar's abusive regime from international scrutiny rather than contributing towards democratisation in Myanmar.³⁶¹ Despite this criticism, Indonesian foreign policymakers continue to persist with the enactment of Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder towards Myanmar. Due to its bridge-builder role enactment towards Myanmar, Indonesia seems to have limitations with regard to using more concrete efforts to put pressure on Myanmar to demonstrate progress in democratisation and the protection of human rights.

Conclusion

As shown by the three case studies above, Indonesia's role conception as a promoter of democracy was not merely the result of the institutionalisation of democratic norms at the domestic level. This is because when Indonesia started to make democracy its identity to be projected towards the international community, Indonesia was still undergoing a process of consolidation of its democracy in which democratic norms were not fully internalised at the domestic level. Instead, other than to enhance Indonesia's international prestige, the role as an advocate of democracy is enacted to enhance other roles conceptualised by Indonesian foreign policymakers in the post-authoritarian era.

Firstly, as shown above, the role as an advocate of democracy has been utilised by Indonesia to play a greater role in the region by introducing the values into ASEAN's

³⁶¹ Kontras, "Siaran Pers: Mengukur Arah Perubahan Di Burma: Menyikapi Rencana Kunjungan Menteri Luar Negeri Indonesia Ke Burma" (Kontras, October 19, 2011), <https://www.kontras.org/home/index.php?module=pers&id=1397>.

objective and mechanism. Secondly, its role as a democracy promoter has not only enhanced Indonesia's international prestige but also enabled it to take the role as a bridge-builder in the international community and also as a regional leader in the region. Its aspiring role as a bridge-builder has encouraged Indonesia to have a unique strategy in playing the role of promoter of democracy. This can be seen in Indonesia's initiative in the Bali Democracy Forum as well as in its active involvement in the democratisation of Myanmar. The analysis above also suggests that role expectations from the international community have also driven Indonesia's roles in initiating the Bali Democracy Forum as well as its active involvement in Myanmar.

Thirdly, promoting democratic and human rights norms can be seen as a strategy to lock in Indonesia's democratic trajectory so that the process of democratisation in Indonesia does not stop and Indonesia does not go back to its authoritarian past. Given that Indonesia is in the early stages of democratisation in which democratic values have not been fully internalised, the possibility that Indonesia could go back into a non-democratic era is still very likely. Efforts to use the democracy promotion agenda by inserting agendas strengthening democracy and human rights into Indonesia's foreign policy could be seen as a strategy to make sure that the process of democratic consolidation will not retreat backwards.

This leads us to the discussion on the importance of the notion of role legitimisation in understanding Indonesia's enactment of the role as an advocate of democracy at the regional level. Given the need to sustain its historical role as a regional leader, Indonesian foreign policymakers can legitimise its aspiration to as an advocate of democracy and human rights through enhancing ASEAN as a regional organisation that promotes and respects democracy and human rights. In another word, Indonesia's enactment of a role as an advocate of democracy and human rights is legitimised by linking the role enactment as part of Indonesia's historical role as a regional leader. Moreover, given that democratic values may not have been fully internalised in Indonesia's political culture, the possibility that Indonesia could go back to authoritarianism is still very likely. For this reason, the enactment of the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights is framed as a way for foreign policymakers to reproduce alter expectations as the inherent social qualities within the state that need to be projected abroad. In the case of Indonesia's enactment of the role as an advocate

of democracy and human rights can also be seen as a way to enhance government's domestic political objectives namely to sustain Indonesia's fragile democracy. By doing so, the incorporation of alter expectations into role conception is less likely to be seen as a process in which the state responds to the pressure from other foreign actors, which might create domestic contestation. Instead, the foreign policymakers have a domestic imperative to incorporate alter expectations into role conception.

To summarise, Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy serves its aspiring roles as a bridge-builder, voice for developing countries, and regional leader. However, there is also clear indication that its role as an advocate of democracy, in some cases conflicts with its role as a bridge-builder and regional leader. As a consequence of this inter-role conflict, Indonesia's role in promoting democracy has been hindered by the other two roles that Indonesia's policymakers choose to enact. In the case of projecting democracy in ASEAN, Indonesia's aspiring role as a regional leader in maintaining ASEAN's cohesiveness has hindered further proposals to create a mechanism to enforce democratic and human rights values within the institution. In the case of enacting its role as an advocate of democracy through the Bali Democracy Forum, due to its nature as a bridge-building forum, it only serves as a talking shop for democracy rather than a place to implement the practical agenda of democracy promotion. Furthermore, due to its bridge-builder role enactment in Myanmar, Indonesia seems to have limitations to use more concrete efforts to put pressure on Myanmar to demonstrate progress in democratisation and the protection of human rights.

This chapter has shown the dynamics of enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions at the regional levels, particularly in democracy and human rights issues. The next chapter will further analyse the dynamics of the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions within global human rights governance. By doing so, the thesis provides comparative case studies on the differences in Indonesia's role enactment at the regional and global levels.

Chapter 5

Bound by domestic constraints: Indonesia's role in global human rights governance

Introduction

As argued in the previous chapter, Indonesia, under the Yudhoyono administration, began to take the role as a country that champions the promotion of human rights issues and democracy at the regional level. This can be seen in the country's regional diplomatic priorities, which emphasise the agenda of mainstreaming democracy and human rights norms as well as initiating several high-profile initiatives to project democracy abroad.³⁶² In the Southeast Asia region, Indonesia has become a primary mover in making the issue of human rights and democracy central to the ASEAN objectives and mechanisms.³⁶³ Moreover, Indonesia is continuing its efforts to help Myanmar in consolidating its democratic transition through capacity building and sharing best practice experience. In the broader Asia-Pacific region, Indonesia acts as an emerging middle power that is pursuing an agenda of promoting democracy through its high-profile initiatives such as the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF).

Despite Indonesia's efforts to play the role of an advocate of democracy, there is still a gap between Indonesia's greater involvement in promoting human rights at the regional level and its normative approach at the global level. While normatively Indonesia is voicing the need to promote the democracy and human rights agenda as shared values to be adopted by all states, its policies in promoting these core values at the global level remain limited. Indonesia's voting record on human rights-related resolutions does not seem to represent its aspiring role as an advocate of democracy and human rights. Indonesia is one of few states that have consistently voted against resolutions condemning the human rights abuses in Sudan, Myanmar, and North Korea.³⁶⁴ Why is Indonesia, despite its significant efforts to strengthen human rights

³⁶² Sukma, "Indonesia Finds a New Voice."

³⁶³ Rizal Sukma, "Political Development: A Democracy Agenda for ASEAN?," in *Hard Choices: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Donald K. Emmerson (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2008).

³⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch, "Indonesia: 2012/2013 Analysis," accessed June 10, 2015, <http://votescount.hrw.org/page/Indonesia>.

mechanisms at the regional level, still reluctant to strengthen global human rights governance and why does it tend to shield abusive regimes from international scrutiny?

In addressing these questions, this chapter contends that two main considerations have created ambivalence in Indonesia's effort in strengthening the global governance dealing with human rights. The first one is Indonesia's scepticism towards global human rights governance due to unpleasant experience while protecting its territorial integrity from international scrutiny regarding its annexation of East Timor during Suharto's authoritarian regime (1975 – 1999). The second one is Indonesia's current domestic issue regarding the separatist movement in West Papua provinces³⁶⁵ in which the issue of human rights is being mobilised to gain international support.

To sum things up, there is fear within the domestic political establishment that the issue of human rights at the global level might be used to undermine its territorial integrity in the future. Given these domestic issues, in the case of global human rights governance, Indonesia's historical role as a voice for developing countries as well as its aspiration to be a bridge-builder have triumphed over its role as an advocate of democracy. More importantly, Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder has been translated to defend developing countries undergoing the international scrutiny of their human rights situation due to the need for Yudhoyono's government to sustain Indonesia's biographical narrative.

To substantiate the argument, this chapter focuses on the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC) as the primary global mechanism responsible for the promotion and protection of all human rights around the globe. Specifically, it deals with two areas of HRC, namely Indonesia's participation in the institution-building phase of the Council and its stance in the country-specific discussions and resolutions within the Council. Indonesia's point of view in the institution-building phase of the Council is crucial in assessing the extent to which Indonesia is reluctant to strengthen the institutional mechanism of human rights governance at the global level. Indonesia's standpoint in relation to the country-specific discussion also sheds light on how

³⁶⁵ Since 2003, Indonesian's Papuan province has been divided into two provinces namely West Papua and Papua Province. However, in this thesis these provinces will be referred as West Papua.

Indonesia's domestic concerns related to its territorial integrity, its preference for a regional mechanism, as well its aspiration to be a bridge-builder have shaped its policies towards the promotion and protection of human rights in other developing countries.

The remainder of the chapter is divided into four sections. The next section provides an overview of Indonesia's perception and engagement in global human rights governance. The third section discusses Indonesia's role in the institution-building phase of the UN Human Rights Council. The fourth section examines Indonesia's role in country-specific discussions in the UN Human Rights Council by explicitly looking at the resolutions on Sudan, Myanmar, and North Korea. These cases are chosen due to Indonesia's significant role in defending the countries under scrutiny as well as significant disagreement among member states within the Council. The last section provides an overall assessment of Indonesia's role in the UN Human Rights Council.

Domestic political environment and global human rights governance

Indonesia's involvement in the UN Human Rights machinery is not a new characteristic of the country's post-authoritarian foreign policy. Indonesia had sought active involvement in the UN Commission on Human Rights during the last decade of Suharto's authoritarian regime (1990 – 1998). It was elected as a member of the Commission from 1991 to 2002 and was elected again in 2004 until the Commission transformed into the UN Human Rights Council in 2006.³⁶⁶ Indonesia's pursuit of membership of the Commission was motivated by domestic problems related to its annexation of East Timor, which was being scrutinised by the international community. Indonesia's membership of the Commission served two objectives: to improve the image of Indonesia in the international community especially in dealing with the accusation of human rights violations, as well as to block initiatives to put Indonesia under the international spotlight due to its alleged human rights violations in East Timor. Given its poor record on human rights protection in East Timor,

³⁶⁶ Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nation, "Commitment and Voluntary Pledges of Indonesia in the Field of Human Rights" (Secretariat of United Nations General Assembly, 2006), <http://www.un.org/ga/60/elect/hrc/indonesia.pdf>.

Indonesia can be considered as a country that used its membership of the UN Commission on Human Rights to protect its interest at the global level and thus weaken the credibility of the Commission.³⁶⁷

With its success in dealing with its uneasy democratisation process from 1998 – 2004, after the collapse of Suharto’s authoritarian regime, Indonesia has been celebrated by the international community as a role model for newly democratised countries. The process of democratisation has thus encouraged Indonesia to engage deeply with various international human rights regimes.³⁶⁸ Domestically, Indonesia has undertaken several measures to strengthen its human rights institutions as well as developing national capacity for the promotion and protection of human rights as outlined in its National Human Rights Action Plan 1998 – 2003 and 2004 – 2009. During that time, Indonesia ratified a number of international treaties on human rights including six out of seven major Human Rights Covenants. Currently, Indonesia is a party to eight core international human rights instruments, two Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and all of the core rights conventions of the International Labour Organization (see table 5.1). Indonesia is yet to become a party to the Optional Protocol of the Convention against Torture and the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming for the abolition of the death penalty. It is also yet to ratify the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Heike Krieger and Dietrich Rauschning, *East Timor and the International Community: Basic Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 232.

³⁶⁸ Mathew Davies, “States of Compliance?: Global Human Rights Treaties and ASEAN Member States,” *Journal of Human Rights* 13, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 414–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2014.886949>.

³⁶⁹ The Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations, “Note Verbale Dated 2 July 2014 from the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the General Assembly” (United Nations General Assembly, 2014), http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/69/375.

Table 5.1 Indonesia and human rights core treaties

No	Treaty Description	Treaty Name	signed	Ratification date, Accession (a), Succession (d)
1	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	CESCR	NA	23 Feb 2006 (a)
2	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	CCPR	NA	23 Feb 2006 (a)
3	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	CERD	NA	25 Jun 1999 (a)
4	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	CEDAW	29 Jul 1980	13 Sep 1984
5	Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance	CED	27 Sep 2010	not ratified
6	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families	CMW	22 Sep 2004	31 May 2012
7	Convention on the Rights of the Child	CRC	26 Jan 1960	05 Sept 1990
8	Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict	CRC-OP-AC	24 Sep 2001	24 Sep 2012
9	Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children child prostitution and child pornography	CRC-OP-SC	24 Sep 2001	24 Sep 2012
10	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities	CRPD	30 Mar 2007	30 Nov 2001
11	Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	CAT	23 Oct 1985	28 Oct 1998
12	Optional Protocol of the Convention against Torture	CAT-OP	not signed	not ratified

No	Treaty Description	Treaty Name	signed	Ratification date, Accession (a), Succession (d)
13	Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming to the abolition of the death penalty	CCPR-OP2-DP	not signed	not ratified

Source: UN Human Rights, Office of the High Commission.³⁷⁰

To reflect its growing interest to actively engage in human rights issues, Yudhoyono's government decided to restructure the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by creating a new directorate specialising in human rights and humanitarian issues.³⁷¹ Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, Indonesia's greater involvement in human rights issues can also be seen in its efforts to create a regional mechanism within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to promote and protect human rights. In addition to focusing attention and resources on the creation of a regional human rights mechanism, during Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia also became increasingly active in the UN human rights machinery. In 2005, Indonesia proposed its senior diplomat, Ambassador Makarim Wibisono, to be nominated as a Chairperson of the 61st session of the UN Commission on Human Rights. Makarim's nomination was accepted due to the lobbying by the Asian regional group at the United Nations.³⁷²

During Ambassador Wibisono's tenure, the Commission started to seriously discuss the status of the proposed new human rights body that would replace the

³⁷⁰ United Nations Human Rights Office of High Commissioner, "Ratification Status for Indonesia" (United Nations Human Rights Office of High Commissioner, 2015), http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=80&Lang=EN.

³⁷¹ Greta Nabbs-Keller, "Reforming Indonesia's Foreign Ministry: Ideas, Organization and Leadership," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 35, no. 1 (May 25, 2013): 56–82.

³⁷² Author's personal interview with Makarim Wibisono, former senior Indonesian diplomat, 24 August 2017.

Commission.³⁷³ However, in the beginning, Indonesia viewed the establishment of the Human Rights Council with scepticism as a project by Western countries to further impose their interests through the agenda of human rights. The Indonesian government consciously understood that the Commission on Human Rights had failed to become an instrument of the United Nations to protect human rights. Nevertheless, it felt the need to carry out a reform of the Commission instead of creating a new institution, which, in Indonesia's view, might be designed to be more aligned with the interests of Western countries.³⁷⁴ While the proposal to reform the Commission came from then the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, it was the United States that demanded the Commission be replaced with a more efficient Human Rights Council.³⁷⁵ Thus, with the view that the newly established Council might serve as an instrument for Western countries to put pressure on other developing countries, from the very beginning, Indonesia was sceptical of the idea to create a more robust human rights mechanism at the global level. This is evident from its standpoint and orientation in the institution-building phase of the council.

Indonesia's scepticism of the more robust human rights mechanism at the global level could be attributed to its domestic political environment. Although Indonesia has transformed into a democratic country, the transformation has also opened a greater dilemma for Yudhoyono's government when it comes to projecting its role conception as an advocate of democracy and human rights. While the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has subscribed to the notion of Indonesia as an advocate of human rights and democratic norms, not all agencies within the Indonesian government subscribed to the same agenda. Thus, the role conception to promote democracy and human rights has been hindered by the difficulty for governments to be able to articulate the role conception consistently. As argued by a high-ranking official at the Directorate of Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign affairs, while democracy and

³⁷³ Theodor Rathgeber, "Reforming the UN Commission on Human Rights—Perspectives for Non-Governmental Organisations," Briefing Papers, Dialogue on Globalizations (Geneva: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005), <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/50195.pdf>. Theodor Rathgeber, *Reforming the UN Commission on Human Rights—Perspectives for Non-Governmental Organisations*' FES Briefing Paper at <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/50195.pdf>.

³⁷⁴ Makarim Wibisono, *UN Human Rights Council welcome* the Jakarta Post at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2006/04/05/un-human-rights-council-welcome.html>.

³⁷⁵ Andrew S. Thompson, *Tehran 1968 and Reform of the UN Human Rights System*, 14 *Journal of Human Rights*, p. 94 (2015).

human rights are values that Indonesia aims to promote abroad, internally the Indonesian government is still working to socialise other state institutions focusing on security issues such as police and the military into the norm.³⁷⁶

Moreover, the democratisation within Indonesian society also opened a chance for internationalisation of domestic issues by a coalition of domestic and international civil society that in return could affect how the policymakers enacted the role conception.³⁷⁷ This is due to the internationalisation of domestic issue that might challenge the narrative being built by the policymakers to international audiences. The case of internationalisation of domestic issue perceived as a threat to Indonesian sovereignty is evident in the issue of human rights abuse in Papua. Despite projecting itself as a democratic country, there are nevertheless significant restrictions within Indonesia's Papua provinces when it comes to freedom of expression and freedom of the press. Indonesia's criminal law, particularly article 106, 107, and 108 on treason, is usually used to suppress political rights to voice secessionist and independence aspiration. The treason articles have been mobilised to arrest Papuan political activists and restrict political freedom in Indonesia's Papuan provinces. The use and ownership of the Morning Star flag, a symbol of Papuan nationalism and cultural unity, can even be the basis for arrest, interrogation and intimidation. According to the SETARA Institute report in 2016, Indonesia's Papuan provinces were the worst provinces in regard to human rights violations in which 29 people were criminalised, 2,397 people were arrested during the protests, 13 were killed, and 68 were shot.³⁷⁸

As revealed from the interviews with Indonesian diplomats, the Indonesian government is aware of the case of human rights issues in Papua and has a good

³⁷⁶ Author's personal interview with official from Agency for Policy Review and Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 July 2015.

³⁷⁷ For further reading on the internationalisation of the state, see Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones, "Rising Powers and State Transformation: The Case of China," *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 1 (2016): 72–98, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066115578952>; Jim Glassman, *Thailand at the Margins: Internationalization of the State and the Transformation of Labour*, Oxford Geographical and Environmental Studies Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁷⁸ Setara Institute, "Setara Institute: Pada 2016, Terjadi 107 Pelanggaran HAM di Papua oleh Aparat," *Setara Institute* (blog), 2017, <http://setara-institute.org/setara-institute-pada-2016-terjadi-107-pelanggaran-ham-di-papua-oleh-aparat/>; "Preparation of the Report for UPR by Indonesian NGOs," 2017, https://www.upr-info.org/sites/default/files/document/indonesia/session_27_-_may_2017/js35_upr27_idn_e_main.pdf.

intention to solve the human rights abuse. However, the mainstream view held by policymakers in the government is that the case of Papua is seen as a case of limited human rights violations rather than a systematic case of human rights abuse. Hence, it does not require strong foreign and international interventions. Given the growing internationalisation of human rights abuse in Papua, there is a general perception within the central government, especially within the police and military establishment, that issues related to human rights violations in Papua have been used by certain groups both at home and abroad to enhance the agenda of Papuan independence. This issue has always been inflated for the political stage by those who want to widen international support for the referendum in Papua. The struggle of the West Papuan people to gain independence continues at the global level and has gained the attention of the international community especially from Melanesian states comprising countries such as Fiji, Vanuatu, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Solomon Islands, Tonga and several other countries in the Pacific. Within the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), the issue of Papua became a serious discussion. In this forum, some countries such as Vanuatu and Fiji often bring up the issue of human rights violations in Papua and the possibility for MSG to support self-determination by the people of Papua. Through several Pacific Islands countries, the issue of Papuan independence has been brought to many international platforms. In Indonesia's view, the global human rights governance could be used as a platform for the internationalisation of the Papuan issue.

International support for pro-independence groups in Papua has created serious complexity for the Indonesian government in diplomacy with foreign parties. Unlike East Timor in which its incorporation to Indonesia had been problematic in the eyes of international community due to Indonesia's force integration through the invasion of East Timor, Indonesia has sought to assert a historical political legitimacy position over Papua since its Independence from the Dutch. However, Indonesia's position is often under attack through the issue of human rights violations. This is because the issue of human rights violations is a global issue that is often used to measure the success rate of handling Papua's problems.

To counter the perceived internationalisation effort in relation to the issue of Papuan independence, press freedom in Papua has been limited by the Indonesian central

government. International journalists may cover anything freely in other parts of Indonesia, but not in Papua. There are layers of licensing that need to be fulfilled as an effort to restrict foreign journalists to cover issues occurring in Papua. This condition has indeed become an Achilles heel for Indonesia's engagement in global human rights governance.

Having situated the importance of Indonesia's domestic political changes in regard to Indonesia's behaviour regarding human rights issue at the global level, the next sections will further elaborate how state transformation and historical experience affect the way Indonesia enacts its role conception at the global human rights governance. The next section will examine Indonesia's standpoint in the institution-building phase of the newly established Human Rights Council.

Indonesia in the institution-building phase of the Human Rights Council

The UN Human Rights Council is an institution that was set up to replace the UN Commission on Human Rights through the issuance of the UN General Assembly resolution number 60/251. The establishment of the Council was a response to the increasing irrelevance of the Commission as a result of over-politicisation of its process and the lack of institutional infrastructure to support its work. As a result of over-politicisation, the Commission was accused by both Western and non-Western countries of applying double standards in conducting a review of human rights of the member and non-member states. Besides, the Commission had turned into a sanctuary for countries with a poor human rights record in order to avoid criticism. Thus, the Commission was experiencing a credibility problem in which more countries with a record of human rights violations were elected to be members resulting in the ineffectiveness of the Commission in dealing with human rights violations.³⁷⁹

As a founding member of the Council, Indonesia, from the very beginning, has been actively involved in the formulation of the mandates and functions of the Council,

³⁷⁹ Nazila Ghanea, "From UN Commission on Human Rights to UN Human Rights Council: One Step Forwards or Two Steps Sideways?," *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (2006): 695–705, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4092647>.

which were decided upon during the institution-building phase. During the phase, the Council decided and agreed on the agenda, the programme of work, its working methods, the rules of procedure, its complaint procedures, the framework of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the Special Procedures, as well as the Advisory Committee. In general, the debates that occurred during the institution-building phase were dominated by the classic debate between efforts to develop an effective instrument for protecting human rights on the one hand and efforts to preserve national sovereignty on the other.³⁸⁰

As suggested in Chapter 4, in Southeast Asia, Indonesia actively called for a more powerful ASEAN Human Rights Body, consisting of independent experts that had the function of promoting and protecting human rights in the region.³⁸¹ However, its approach to the mechanism of the UN Human Rights Council shows its tendency to give more power to the state and less authority to the independent experts. This can be seen in Indonesia's reluctance to give more role and authority to the Advisory Committee of the UN Human Rights Council to deal with the promotion and protection of human rights as well as its reluctance to support more powerful Special Procedures. In both cases, Indonesia showed fierce opposition to the ideas that would provide a newly established Human Rights Council with a more efficient mechanism to promote and protect human rights. As will be further substantiated in the following analysis, the reason for such differences could be attributed to the different nature of both regional and global audiences in which Indonesian policymakers aimed to enact role conceptions.

Indonesia's standpoint on the Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee is one of the newly established mechanisms within the UN Human Rights Council. It replaced the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights as the main subsidiary body of the UN Commission on Human Rights. In order to increase its capacity as an expert body of the Council, in

³⁸⁰ Muhammad Anshor, "The Universal Periodic Review of Human Rights: Indonesia's Experience," *East Asia Forum*, July 7, 2012, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/07/07/the-universal-periodic-review-of-human-rights-indonesia-s-experience/>.

³⁸¹ Rüland, "Deepening ASEAN Cooperation through Democratization?"

the beginning, it was envisioned that the Advisory Committee would give an expert assessment of the human rights situation around the world to the Council and have greater autonomy to initiate and conduct its own study related to human rights. Western powers such as the European Union, Canada and the United States tend to give more authority to the Advisory Committee to investigate human rights abuses.³⁸²

In addition, there were proposals from developed countries to provide the Advisory Committee with authority to participate in the study and investigate country-specific issues, rather than just thematic issues. Furthermore, the proposal from Western countries also allows various entities other than states such as the High Commissioner and NGOs to nominate the candidate for the Advisory Committee and gives authority to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) to screen out names proposed by these entities.³⁸³

However, Indonesia, along with other Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC)³⁸⁴ countries, rejected the proposal to give greater authority to the Advisory Committee to investigate human rights abuses. Indonesia blocked the proposal to give the Advisory Committee the authority to identify protection gaps rather than just promoting human rights, arguing that identifying protection gaps was the prerogative of the Council.³⁸⁵ Thus, Indonesia supported the notion that the Advisory Committee, unlike its predecessor, the Sub-Commission, was not allowed to issue resolutions or decisions. Moreover, Indonesia also rejected the idea to authorise the OHCHR to screen out names proposed to be a member of the Advisory Committee and supported the mechanism in which the Council solely elected the experts on the Advisory Committee.

³⁸² Françoise J. Hampson, "An Overview of the Reform of the UN Human Rights Machinery," *Human Rights Law Review* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 7–27, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngl030>.

³⁸³ Rami Chalabi, "Human Rights Council Working Group on Review of Mechanisms and Mandates Discussions on the Expert Body, 2nd Session, 8-16 February 2007," Human Rights Monitor Series (Geneva: International Service for Human Rights, 2007), http://olddoc.ishr.ch/hrm/council/wg/wg_reports/wg_review_expertadvice_02.pdf.

³⁸⁴ On 28 June 2011 during the 38th Council of Foreign Ministers meeting (CFM) in Astana, Kazakhstan, Organisation of the Islamic Conference changed its name into Organisations of Islamic Cooperation

³⁸⁵ Author's personal interview with former Indonesian diplomat stationed in Geneva, 5 September 2017.

As a win-win solution for the selection of the Advisory Committee, it was finally agreed that for the nominations of the Advisory Committee, the states would be encouraged to consult their national human rights institutions as well as to include the names of NGOs that supported their candidates.³⁸⁶ It was also finally agreed during the institution-building phase that the work of the Advisory Committee would only be related to the implementation of decisions made by the Council. Its scope of work would be mainly in the area of thematic issues, and it would have no authority with regard to country-specific issues. Hence, as argued by Meghna Abraham, the new Human Rights Council Advisory Committee has been reduced to merely a mechanism without any authority to have initiatives.³⁸⁷ Bassiouni and Schabas further argued that the establishment of the Advisory Committee as a replacement for the Sub Commission for the promotion and protection of Human Rights was a negative reform as a result of the establishment of the UN Human Rights Council.³⁸⁸

The impetus for Indonesia to support the limitations to the independence and autonomy of the Advisory Committee stemmed from its historical experience in dealing with a more independent Sub Commission. When it was still named a Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Indonesia had been under the scrutiny of the Sub-Commission due to its occupation of East Timor. In 1983, the Sub-Commission adopted resolution 1983/26, which reaffirmed the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence.³⁸⁹ Although the problem of East Timor was formally still listed as one of the items on the agenda of the UN General Assembly, since 1984, the substantive issue of East Timor had not been discussed in the UN. However, with the Santa Cruz incident in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on 12 November 1991, in which the Indonesian military opened fire on an East Timorese demonstration and killed roughly 250 people, the issue of the Right to Self-determination has been brought by the Sub-Commission to

³⁸⁶ Philip Alston, "Reconceiving the UN Human Rights Regime: Challenges Confronting the New UN Human Rights Council," *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 7, no. 1 (May 2006): 185.

³⁸⁷ Meghna Abraham, "Building the New Human Rights Council," Occasional Papers, Dialogue Globalization (Geneva: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2007), <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/genf/04769.pdf>.

³⁸⁸ M. Cherif Bassiouni and William A Schabas, *New Challenges for the UN Human Rights Machinery: What Future for the UN Treaty Body System and the Human Rights Council Procedures?* (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2011).

³⁸⁹ Krieger and Rauschning, *East Timor and the International Community: Basic Documents*.

be discussed in the UN.³⁹⁰ While Indonesia could influence the resolutions issued by the Commission given its membership of the Commission, the work conducted by the Sub-Commission could hardly be influenced by Indonesia's membership of the Commission given its independence and autonomy.

Indonesia's view on Special Procedures

Indonesia's reluctance to assist the Council in creating a more powerful mechanism to investigate human rights situations can also be seen from its standpoint in the discussion on reviewing the mandates and mechanism of Special Procedures. Special Procedures is one of the most effective mechanisms in the UN Human Rights machinery. It has the task of examining questions and monitoring the situation of human rights in both specific countries and thematic issues.³⁹¹ During the discussion in the Working Group on Review of Mechanisms and Mandates, it was evident that Indonesia still championed the idea of state sovereignty over the protection of human rights. Indonesia, from the beginning, supported the proposal that the election of mandate holders for Special Procedures be conducted entirely by the members of the Council in order to maintain the credibility of the mandate recipient.

Many Western countries rejected the proposal since it would make the appointment of Special Procedures mandate holders highly politicised.³⁹² The European Union, Australia, Canada, and the United States proposed the OHCHR to appoint mandate holders in order to ensure their independence and expertise. Indonesia rejected this proposal. Indonesian policymakers argued that while the OHCHR might comprise non-political actors, OHCHR is an independent actor that certainly has its agenda, which might be influenced by the Western countries.³⁹³ Thus, while many Western countries sought to give OHCHR the power to choose or appoint Special Procedures

³⁹⁰ Karen Reiersen and David Weissbrodt, "The Forty-Third Session of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: The Sub-Commission under Scrutiny," *Human Rights Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1992): 232–77, <https://doi.org/10.2307/762426>.

³⁹¹ Bassiouni and Schabas, *New Challenges for the UN Human Rights Machinery*.

³⁹² Human Rights Council Working Group on Review of Mechanisms and Mandates, 2nd Session, 5–16 February 2007. (2007).

³⁹³ Author's personal interview with senior official in the Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 July 2015.

mandate-holders, Indonesia opposed the idea and urged that the Council directly elects the mandate holders in order to maintain their credibility despite criticism that this would make the appointments highly politicised. It was finally agreed that the appointment of mandate holders would be similar to the previous mechanism in which the President of the Council would appoint the mandate holders on the basis of a recommendation from the Consultative Group, which is mainly composed of senior diplomats representing the states. The Council would finally approve the appointment. This final solution gives greater political control to the states in the appointment of mandate holders for Special Procedures.³⁹⁴

During the working group discussion, the NGOs raised an important issue regarding the relations between Special Procedures and States. The ineffectiveness of the Special Procedures is due to the lack of a mechanism to enforce state cooperation with this UN human rights machinery. There are several limitations to activities conducted by the Special Procedures. Firstly, the mechanism relies heavily on the consent of the concerned states and states can easily block the mandate holders from performing their function by not granting them a visit. Secondly, there is no mechanism to follow up the findings made by the mandate holders by the concerned states.³⁹⁵ There were proposals to strengthen the mechanism for cooperation between Special Procedures mandate holders and the states. For instance, the Western countries proposed the need for all states that serve as members of the Council to issue a standing invitation to Special Procedures as the first step towards cooperation. Canada even proposed that state cooperation with Special Procedures be a requirement for membership of the council.³⁹⁶

However, with regard to the problem of non-cooperation with states, many non-Western countries including Indonesia preferred the status quo and did not want to create a new mechanism to address the problem faced by Special Procedures. In fact, during the discussion in the working group, Indonesia along with the African group

³⁹⁴ Bertrand G. Ramcharan, *The UN Human Rights Council* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

³⁹⁵ Meghna Abraham and Michael Ineichen, "Human Rights Council Working Group on Review of Mechanisms and Mandates, 13-24 November 2006: Report on the Review of Special Procedures," Human Rights Monitor Series (Geneva: International Service on Human Rights, 2007), http://olddoc.ishr.ch/hrm/council/wg/wg_reports/wg_review_sps.pdf.

³⁹⁶ Abraham and Ineichen.

called for a stricter code of conduct to be followed by the Special Procedures mandate holders, especially during their visits and in their relations and communication with the media. The proposal for a code of conduct was perceived by many Western countries as a way to limit and even jeopardise the work of Special Procedures.³⁹⁷

Indonesia's rationale in keeping the problem of state cooperation with mandate holders unresolved is due to its fear that Special Procedures might jeopardise its sovereignty in the future. As already touched upon in the previous section, currently, Indonesia is facing accusations of human rights abuse in its eastern provinces of Papua. Due to its complex historical problems as well as the prevalent poverty in Papua, there is an increasingly strong aspiration among the Papuan indigenous peoples for independence. Many policymakers in Jakarta believe that Papuan pro-independence activists are using the issue of human rights strategically as an instrument to get the attention of the international community with regard to their aspiration for independence.³⁹⁸ Many Western advocates of Papuan independence have been successful in putting Papuan human rights as an international issue, and the issue is successfully being used to justify the aspiration for Papuan independence.³⁹⁹ Several Pacific countries that support the Papuan independence movement such as the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu not only have talked about West Papua human rights issues within the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) but also have brought the issue to the international level through the UN General Assembly.

In responding to this situation, Indonesia tends to perceive any international scrutiny of human rights issues in its Papuan provinces as part of the agenda for internationalising the Papuan independence. For this reason, Indonesia is more likely to ignore the visits requested by the UN Special Procedures especially with regard to civil rights issues. Prior to the establishment of the Council, Indonesia has denied the request for a visit by The United Nations Special Rapporteur for Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions since 1994. In 2004, Indonesia also rejected a follow-up request by the Special Rapporteur, who planned to visit the Indonesian

³⁹⁷ Chalabi, "Human Rights Council Working Group on Review of Mechanisms and Mandates Discussions on the Expert Body, 2nd Session, 8-16 February 2007."

³⁹⁸ Author's personal interview with Indonesian Member of Parliament, 03 August 2015.

³⁹⁹ Martin Pelcher, "Fear, Grief and Hope in Occupied West Papua," *IC Magazine*, July 24, 2012, <https://intercontinentalcry.org/fear-grief-and-hope-in-occupied-west-papua/>.

province of Papua.⁴⁰⁰ The Government of Indonesia has also not replied to a request for a country visit from rapporteurs working on civil and political rights such as the Working Group on Enforced Disappearance and the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief. Overall, Indonesia has only accepted 13 out of 47 invitations from the Special Procedures to visit the country.⁴⁰¹ Most of the Special Rapporteurs accepted by Indonesia have dealt with the economy and social rights rather than civil and political rights. Due to a fear of politicisation of the issue of Papuan independence, Indonesia is not one of the 114 countries that have pledged a standing invitation, which is an open invitation extended by a Government regarding all special thematic procedures, despite being elected four times as a member of the council.⁴⁰²

The above discussion shows that Indonesia's domestic political development, as well as its historical difficulty in dealing with international scrutiny, have hindered it from playing a constructive role in crafting more robust global human rights governance. Indeed, the fact that the bloc politics in the UN cannot be ignored is one of the leading factors driving Indonesia's preferences to block initiatives to strengthen human rights governance. However, in the UN Human Rights Council, Indonesia's stance sometimes does not correspond with the bloc politics within the Council. For instance, in the case of Myanmar, Indonesia disagreed with the OIC's approach in naming and shaming the Myanmar military junta. The case of Indonesia's standpoint in institution-building reflects more its circumspection regarding robust global human rights governance, which might have backfired on Indonesia especially with the ongoing case of the separatist movement in Indonesia's Provinces of West Papua and Papua.

⁴⁰⁰ Eben Kirksey, *What Is Indonesia Trying to Hide in West Papua?* huffingtonpost.com at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/american-anthropological-association/indonesia-west-papua_b_1652245.html.

⁴⁰¹ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, "Country and Other Visits by Special Procedures Mandate Holders since 1998," United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2015, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/SP/Pages/CountryvisitsF-M.aspx>.

⁴⁰² United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, "Standing Invitation," October 10, 2015, http://spinternet.ohchr.org/_Layouts/SpecialProceduresInternet/StandingInvitations.aspx.

Indonesia's role in relations to country-specific issues

In each pledge for candidacy for the Human Rights Council, Indonesia always reiterates that it will contribute further to the global promotion and protection of human rights by upholding the principles of objectivity, impartiality and non-selectivity and the elimination of double standards and politicisation.⁴⁰³ However, in practice, the principles are used as a legitimisation for Indonesia to block further international pressure regarding human rights violations occurring in developing countries. Three main factors drive Indonesia's preference to block several Human Right Council initiatives in dealing with country-specific issues, namely: its over-sensitivity regarding the notion of territorial integrity, its preference for a regional approach, and its aspiring role to be a bridge-builder between Western and developing countries.

The first factor could be seen as a part of Indonesia's efforts to sustain its territorial integrity in light of state transformation that open up the process of internationalisation of its domestic issues. The second factor could be interpreted as the need for Indonesia to sustain its biographical narrative as a regional leader at the global level. The third factor could be seen as the internalisation of alter-expectations towards Indonesia.

Indonesia's over-sensitivity regarding the notion of territorial integrity has shaped Indonesia's foreign and security policies since its independence particularly with the growth of secessionist movements from 1950 that threatened the newly established Republic. Suharto's authoritarian regime has further institutionalised the foreign and security policies that uphold the notion of territorial integrity through Indonesia's doctrine of national resilience that emphasise internal security agenda as discussed in Chapter 3. Given its historical experience and geopolitical realities as an archipelagic state, the likelihood of challenges towards Indonesia's territorial integrity remains high. Thus, the intersecting internationalisations of human rights abuse and the growing independence movements in its Papuan provinces, have made Indonesia more likely to shield abusive regimes from international scrutiny in the Council particularly in the country-specific issue discussion. This could be attributed to the fear that

⁴⁰³ The Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations, "Note Verbale Dated 2 July 2014 from the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the General Assembly."

Indonesia would be in the same position in regard to human rights condition in Papua. This consideration, arguably, trumps the alter expectations towards Indonesia as an emerging democratic power.

Furthermore, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, its preference for a regional framework to deal with human rights issues has pushed Indonesia to play a greater role in setting up a robust regional mechanism instead. Thus, when it comes to the discussion over country-specific issues that involved Southeast Asian states, Indonesia prefers to discuss it through the regional mechanism. Its preference for regional framework particularly in the issue of human rights could be attributed to two main reasons. First, the notion of territorial integrity has been highly socialised as a norm and practice among ASEAN members.⁴⁰⁴ This has given the member states an assurance that human rights issues will not be used to challenge the notion of territorial integrity in the discussion of human rights practice within the ASEAN human rights mechanism. Hence, a more institutionalised human right mechanism would not jeopardise Indonesia's territorial integrity and sovereignty.⁴⁰⁵ Second, creating a robust regional human rights mechanism by emulating the Western liberal view on human rights would provide legitimacy to finding a solution to human rights issues through regional mechanisms. Moreover, it also reduces the external pressure especially from the West on Southeast Asian human rights practice.⁴⁰⁶ These two reasons would eventually allow Indonesia to engage in promoting human rights norms and values without having to suffer heavy sovereignty costs. Furthermore, as argued in the previous section, given its struggle to protect its territorial integrity from international scrutiny, Indonesia had a reservation and expressed its discomfort with the country-specific issues discussed at the global level.

In global human rights governance, Indonesia's enactment of the role as a bridge-builder is also a part of its endeavour to fulfil alter-expectations from the international

⁴⁰⁴ Matthew Davies, "Explaining the Vientiane Action Programme: Asean and the Institutionalisation of Human Rights," *Pacific Review* 26, no. 4 (2013).

⁴⁰⁵ Alex J Bellamy and Catherine Drummond, "The Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia: Between Non-Interference and Sovereignty as Responsibility," *The Pacific Review* 24, no. 2 (2011).

⁴⁰⁶ Hiro Katsumata, "Asean and Human Rights: Resisting Western Pressure or Emulating the West?," *Pacific Review* 22, no. 5 (2009); Mathew Davies, "Asean and Human Rights Norms: Constructivism, Rational Choice, and the Action-Identity Gap," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 13, no. 2 (2013).

community. As suggested in an interview with the Director of the Directorate for Human Rights and Humanitarian Issue:

Indonesia's democratisation has provided an opportunity for Indonesia to bridge a growing divide among developing and developed countries regarding the condition of global human rights issues. Many Western powers such as the US and EU expect Indonesia to convey their message to developing countries on the need for them to address their human rights issues. While at the same time, many diplomats from developing countries with a substantial human rights issue expect Indonesia to lobby Western powers to stop naming and shaming strategy and focus on helping in enhancing state capacity in developing world.⁴⁰⁷

This interview extract reveals how international expectations do indeed play a significant role in shaping the perception of Indonesia's foreign policy elites towards the importance of Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder particularly in light of the democratisation process. However, Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries that triumphs developing countries' interest compels Indonesia's foreign policy elites to shield some developing countries from their poor track records on human rights issues in international fora. Hence, Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder has become a battleground for role conflict between Indonesia's newly embraced role as an advocate of democracy and human rights and its role conception as a vocal voice for developing countries.

Given this conflict, Indonesia's aspiring role as a bridge-builder has reduced its role as an advocate of democracy and human rights. Indonesia's bridge-builder role was mainly translated into Indonesia's effort to build strategic partnerships with all major countries and most of the world's emerging powers. In the case of its relations with developing countries, the need to play a role as a bridge-builder requires Indonesia to be seen as a friend rather than foe. This sometimes means Indonesia's diplomatic engagement is directed to support developing countries' position. Hence, Indonesia most of the time has rejected the naming and shaming approach and prefers to use a

⁴⁰⁷ Author's personal interview with senior official from Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15 July 2015.

dialogue and capacity building approach in dealing with gross human rights violations that are allegedly conducted by states. Indonesian policymakers believe that naming and shaming would only shift the targeted countries away from the process to engage them to change their policy.

This belief stems from Indonesia's view that human rights violations occurring in various developing countries are the result of the limitation to the capacity of the state in providing human rights protection to its people rather than deliberate policy from the regime. This stance is translated into Indonesia's reluctance to support a resolution that targets a specific country. To substantiate how these factors explain Indonesia's position regarding country-specific issues in the Human Rights Council, its stance in the Human Rights Council regard to Sudan, Myanmar and North Korea will be examined.

Sudan

In the case of Sudan, during the second session of the Council meeting in September 2006, like many Western countries, Indonesia expressed its concern about the dire humanitarian situation in Darfur. However, Indonesia's delegates did not want to hastily conclude that there was government support for the killing of its people in Darfur. In the eyes of the Indonesian delegation, the conflict in Darfur, which is resulting in gross violations of human rights, is the result of the lack of capacity in the Sudanese government to provide human rights protection to its people.⁴⁰⁸ For Indonesia, the conflict in Darfur is considered as a problem that is internal to Sudan, and thus its perception is that the Sudanese government urgently needs the support of friendly countries to deal with its domestic problem.⁴⁰⁹ As stated by the Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda, the main issue that must be addressed by the international community concerning the humanitarian problem in Darfur, Sudan, is 'to overcome the humanitarian problem itself immediately'. The threat of imposing sanctions is

⁴⁰⁸ Author's personal interview with Makarim Wibisono, former Senior diplomat, 24 August 2017.

⁴⁰⁹ Veeramalla Anjaiah, "RI to Deploy 140-Member Formed Police Unit to Conflict-Torn Darfur Soon," *The Jakarta Post*, May 14, 2008, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/05/14/ri-deploy-140member-formed-police-unit-conflicttorn-darfur-soon.html>.

inappropriate and not necessarily practical.⁴¹⁰ Hence Indonesia preferred to address the situation with those operating in the region and stressed the importance of a regional solution to the problems in Sudan involving the African Union (AU) peacekeeping forces, avoiding more foreign intervention outside the region.

Indonesia also rejected Western countries' approach in dealing with Darfur, which seemed to treat the Sudanese government as the perpetrators who should face international pressure.⁴¹¹ While normatively, Indonesia maintains that it fully supports the international community's endeavours to improve the human rights situation in all countries, Indonesia urged that this should take place through genuine dialogue and in the spirit of mutual respect. In November 2006, Indonesia voted a resolution that called for 'the international community at large and donor countries and peace partners in particular to honour their pledges of support and to provide urgent and adequate financial and technical assistance to the Government of Sudan in the promotion and protection of human rights'.⁴¹² Many Western countries such as Canada and EU Countries voted against this. Furthermore, despite criticism from Western countries as well as international NGOs regarding the Sudanese government's lack of cooperation with the international community, Indonesia argued that the government of Sudan have shown willingness to cooperate with the UN Human Rights mechanism and was being 'open to the outside world'. This can be seen from the presence of NGOs in Darfur, which was the highest per capita presence of NGOs in the world at the time.⁴¹³

In dealing with the tension in Darfur, the Council conducted the fourth special session to discuss the human rights situation in Darfur in mid-December 2006. During the special session, Indonesia and many non-Western countries disputed the reports stating that numerous human rights violations were being committed in Darfur.⁴¹⁴ In

⁴¹⁰ Sudan Tribune, "Indonesian FM Opposes UN Sanctions on Sudan over Darfur Crisis," *Sudan Tribune*, July 29, 2004, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article4319>.

⁴¹¹ Meghna Abraham, Gareth Sweeney, and Eléonore Dziurzynski, "Human Rights Council 4th Special Session, 12-13 December 2006," Human Rights Monitor Series (Geneva: International Service for Human Rights, 2006), http://olddoc.ishr.ch/hrm/council/other/cmreports/specialsessions/Fourth_Special_Session.pdf.

⁴¹² Human Rights Council, "Decision 2/115 on Darfur" (United Nations Human Rights Office of High Commissioner, 2006), <http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/E/HRC/decisions/A-HRC-DEC-2-115.doc>.

⁴¹³ Abraham, Sweeney, and Dziurzynski, "Human Rights Council 4th Special Session, 12-13 December 2006."

⁴¹⁴ Abraham, Sweeney, and Dziurzynski.

order to address this debate regarding the information, it was finally agreed by all states, during the fourth special session, to dispatch a high-level mission to Darfur. The mission consisted of six highly qualified persons, appointed by the President of the Human Rights Council, following consultation with the members of the Council, and the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Sudan.⁴¹⁵ The Indonesian permanent representative to the UN in Geneva, Ambassador Makarim Wibisono, was selected as one of the members of the high-level mission to Darfur, Sudan. Besides Ambassador Wibisono, there was Jody Williams (1997 Nobel Peace laureate), Mar Nutt (member of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance), Bertrand Ramcharan (former deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights), Patrice Tonda (permanent representative of Gabon in Geneva), and Sima Samar (the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Sudan).

During the fact-finding mission, Ambassador Wibisono announced that he would withdraw from the mission.⁴¹⁶ The reason for Wibisono's resignation was due to the failure of the team to visit Darfur because permission not being granted by the government of Sudan.⁴¹⁷ Despite not visiting Darfur, the high-level mission reported that indeed human rights violations had been committed in Darfur. Indonesia distanced itself from the finding of the high-level mission. Ambassador Wibisono's resignation from the mission can be considered as a diplomatic move by Indonesia to show its support for the Sudanese government. This stance represents Indonesia rejection of a unilateral approach that does not actively involve the state under investigation in the process.

Indonesia's aspiring role to be a bridge-builder and its long-standing good relations with Sudan may have contributed to Indonesia's standpoint in defending Sudan at the global level. Indonesia's statements regarding the issues always invoke the need for the international community to help rather than to condemn the Sudanese government in dealing with the human rights issues in Darfur. However, the main factors hindering

⁴¹⁵ Abraham, Sweeney, and Dziurzynski.

⁴¹⁶ Richard Waddington, "Sudan Orchestrated Darfur Crimes, U.N. Mission Says," *Reuters.Com*, March 12, 2007, http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL12300471._CH_.2400#usW1IFyxZM2hADeB.99.

⁴¹⁷ Author's personal interview with Makarim Wibisono, former Senior Diplomat within Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta, 24 August 2017.

Indonesia from assisting in putting international pressure on Sudan is the separatist nature of the Darfur conflict.⁴¹⁸ Thus, intervention in Sudan might open a Pandora's box for Indonesia given its West Papuan issue at home. There are many calls from international NGOs for Council-led investigation on the alleged human rights abuse in Papua. In 2014, various international NGOs such as Amnesty International called for a quick, independent and impartial investigation into the reports of human rights NGOs stating that there were killings and excessive use of power visible to the Indonesian security forces in Papua.⁴¹⁹ So far, Indonesia has rejected any efforts to conduct such investigation. Given the above discussion, the West Papuan issue eventually would restrain Indonesia's support towards the need for country-specific discussion at the UN that face conditions similar to those in Indonesia.

The case of Indonesia's stance towards Sudan shows that the idea of territorial integrity has caused Indonesia to shield abusive regimes and reduce its enactment of an advocate of democracy and human rights at the global level. In other words, Indonesia is willing to abandon the enactment of role conception when the enactment would jeopardise Indonesia's territorial integrity. Furthermore, historical experience under country-specific issue scrutiny has also informed Indonesia's policymakers to be more suspicious of the process which may be used against Indonesia. Hence the fear that allowing pressure through the Council regarding human rights issue would backfire towards Indonesia due to its Papuan issue also reduces the enactment of an advocate of democracy and human rights.

Myanmar

The case of Sudan shows how the ambivalent enactment of role conception could be attributed to the domestic constraints due to its human rights issue in West Papua. The case of Indonesia's long-standing role as the defender of Myanmar on the global level can be explained by its long-term preference for regional solutions to regional

⁴¹⁸ Stephen P. Reyna, "The Disasters of War in Darfur, 1950–2004," *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 8 (December 1, 2010): 1297–1320, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2010.541083>.

⁴¹⁹ Amnesty International, "Amnesty International Report 2016/17: The State of the World's Human Rights" (Amnesty International), accessed January 10, 2018, <https://www.amnesty.nl/content/uploads/2017/02/POL1048002017ENGLISH.pdf?x97182>.

problems and its aspiring role to be a bridge-builder between non-democracies and the international community. Rather than pushing for regime change through the UN Human Rights Council or other UN-related institutions, Indonesia preferred to establish a regional framework to influence Naypyidaw to play a more active role in protecting the human rights of its citizens and gradually make the transition towards democracy.⁴²⁰ Indonesia believed that in dealing with Myanmar, the international community should work closely with the military junta and establish trust through dialogue and intense communication. When Indonesia held a non-permanent seat at the Security Council (2007 – 2008), Indonesia strongly opposed the Council's involvement in relief work in Myanmar to deal with the impact of cyclone Nargis in 2008 that devastated the country.⁴²¹ France, at the time, invoked the principle of the responsibility to protect to make sure that the aid was delivered to the victims of the disaster. Indonesia argued that the Security Council's involvement would only 'jeopardise and undermine aid work, not only for Myanmar but also for future humanitarian situations' since it would undermine Myanmar's sovereignty.⁴²²

In the Human Rights Council, again Indonesia tends to shield the military junta from criticism from the international community. An example of this can be seen in Indonesia's response towards the ethnic conflict in the Rakhine state of Myanmar, which erupted in 2012, in which 100,000 Rohingya Muslims were displaced since the beginning of the conflict.⁴²³ In response to this issue, Indonesia opted to reject the adoption of a resolution on the situation of the ethnic Rohingya by the Human Rights Council in June 2013, arguing that it was too soon to act despite OIC pressure to condemn the attack on the Rohingya. It was finally agreed that the Council would

⁴²⁰ Haacke, "ASEAN and Political Change in Myanmar."

⁴²¹ Tony Hotland, "Indonesia Defends Stance on UN Role in Myanmar," *The Jakarta Post*, March 15, 2008, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/05/14/indonesia-defends-stance-un-role-myanmar.html>.

⁴²² Hotland.

⁴²³ Recent development has indicated that the Rohingya crisis is getting worse. In 2015, Rohingya refugee crisis in which estimated 25,000 people fled Myanmar. In 2016, Myanmar's armed forces started a major crackdown on Rohingya people in Rakhine state leading to thousands death. As of January 2018, nearly 690,000 Rohingya people had fled. This thesis does not analyse Indonesia's response to the crisis in great detail given the focus of the thesis is mainly in Yudhoyono's presidency.

adopt a consensus-based presidential statement on the gross violation of human rights towards Rohingya people, rather than voting-based resolution.⁴²⁴

Furthermore, as observed by the NGO Human Rights Watch, Indonesia played a significant role in weakening language on violations and strengthening language on progress in the discussion on the human rights resolution in Myanmar. For instance, during the 7th session of the Council in March 2008, Slovenia, on behalf of the European Union, introduced a draft resolution that expressed concern about restrictions to freedom of movement, assembly and association, on the widespread practice of torture, forced labour, child soldiers, sexual violence, and ill-treatment of detainees in Myanmar.⁴²⁵ Indonesia argued that the resolution should reflect the progress made by the Myanmar military junta so that it could be adopted by consensus. By doing so, Indonesia believed that it would send a strong message to the Myanmar government that the international community supports the progress in Myanmar so that the Special Rapporteur would be able to visit the country. By weakening the language of the naming and shaming approach, the majority of the resolutions concerning the human rights situation in Myanmar could be adopted through a consensus. As a result, in August 2008, the Myanmar military junta allowed Tomás Ojea Quintana, Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, to visit the country.⁴²⁶

In the case of Myanmar, Indonesia always stressed that it could hardly support country-specific resolutions and prefers to monitor the human rights situation in particular countries through the UPR. While Indonesia is disinclined to strengthen the Advisory Committee and Special Procedures, it was very supportive of the establishment of the UPR as a new mechanism within the UN Human Rights Council. Indonesia considered the UPR as a mechanism to change the Commission's practice of naming and shaming to a more cooperative model of human rights evaluation. Through this mechanism, the Council is obliged to conduct a thorough review on the

⁴²⁴ Human Rights Watch, "Indonesia: 2012/2013 Analysis."

⁴²⁵ Annika Aaberg et al., "Daily Update Human Rights Council, 7th Session 28 March 2008," Human Rights Monitor Series (Geneva: International Service for Human Rights, 2008), http://olddoc.ishr.ch/hrm/council/dailyupdates/session_007/28_march_2008.pdf.

⁴²⁶ Tomás Ojea Quintana, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Myanmar" (Geneva: Human Rights Council, April 2, 2014), www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/.../A-HRC-25-64_en.doc.

achievement of human rights obligations by all member states of the UN. The UPR as one of the mechanisms for protecting and promoting human rights fits with Indonesia's approach, which emphasises a constructive, non-confrontational and non-politicized process in reviewing human rights issues within countries.⁴²⁷ According to Indonesia, the UPR provides a mechanism that can eliminate selectivity and double standards in the promotion and protection of human rights.⁴²⁸

However, even during the UPR session in 2011, Indonesia continued to ignore the massive human rights violations in Myanmar. During the interactive dialogue session on Myanmar, the Indonesian delegates stated that they welcomed the positive developments in Myanmar recently, including the holding of general elections and the release of Aung San Suu Kyi. The delegate even further stated that these developments would bring even more significant changes in the social and political life of the people of Myanmar. However, many international observers had stated that the 2010 Myanmar General Election could not be considered democratic due to the structural constraints that made the election not credible, including the allocation of seats to the military junta.⁴²⁹ Nevertheless, Indonesia insisted that pushing and condemning the military junta would not help in Myanmar's transition towards democracy. Thus, Indonesia is more likely to continue its effort to shield Myanmar from criticism at the international level and prefers to address the human rights issues through a bilateral and regional mechanism.

The discussion above shows that the role as a bridge-builder was enacted in Indonesia's approach towards Myanmar in the Council while the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights was largely absent. This might be attributed to the need for Indonesia to convince Myanmar that it genuinely wants to help the process of democratisation. For Indonesian policymakers, the global level may not be the most suitable place to help the Myanmar transition given the Western approach that put Myanmar as the guilty party which alienated the Myanmar government. Thus,

⁴²⁷ Anshor, "The Universal Periodic Review of Human Rights."

⁴²⁸ Sixty-sixth General Assembly Third Committee 47th & 48th Meetings, "Third Committee Approves Draft Resolutions on Human Rights Situations in Iran, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Myanmar" (UN General Assembly, 2011), <http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/gashc4032.doc.htm>.

⁴²⁹ National Democratic Institute, "Burma's 2010 Electoral Framework: Fundamentally Undemocratic A Legal and Human Rights Analysis" (National Democratic Institute, 2010), https://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_Burma_Elections_0810.pdf.

Indonesia prefers to actively promote democracy and human rights towards Myanmar through regional and bilateral relations, but enacts a different role at the global level. Moreover, as suggested in Chapter 2, the different enactment of roles at the regional and global level might be attributed to the difference in how alter expectations are internalised. These factors are: (1) historical constraints preventing the state from incorporating alter expectations into their role conceptualisation; (2) the structural difference between a regional and global order which in turn structurally affects the expectations and pattern of behaviour of the state.

These factors arguably affect the abandonment of the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights in the case of Indonesia's approach towards Myanmar in the Council. First, although Indonesia's role as an advocate of democracy has been a part of Indonesia's state identity in the post-authoritarian era, it is yet to be a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative that needs to be sustained. Thus, at the global level, where the enactment of such roles may jeopardise Indonesia's domestic and regional interests, the role would be easily abandoned. This is especially true for Indonesia's role enactment towards Myanmar at the global level.

Secondly, alter expectation for Indonesia to be an advocate of democracy and human rights may not be as strong as the one at the regional level. At the global level, Indonesia is also occupied and criticised with its human rights issue in Papua and has no higher moral ground in regard to advocate democracy to other countries. Hence, Indonesia is more confident in positioning itself as a bridge-builder at the global level while regionally and bilaterally enacting the role as an advocate of democracy towards Myanmar.

North Korea

While its preference for a regional solution to a regional problem can explain Indonesia's reluctance to put pressure on the Myanmar military junta, Indonesia's long-standing support for North Korea by shielding its regime from scrutiny in the Council is somewhat puzzling. Indonesia is the only functioning democracy which is considered very tolerant towards the gross human rights violations that occur in North

Korea. Considering that the human rights situation in North Korea is not challenging North Korea's territorial integrity and there is no proper regional mechanism to address the issue, Indonesia should have more political space to join western countries to put pressure on North Korea in regard to its human rights situation. However, in reality, Indonesia seems reluctant to criticise the North Korean government regarding their human rights situation. This is reflected in Indonesia's voting behaviour in the UN Human Rights Council as well as the UN General Assembly on resolutions related to the human rights situation in North Korea.

Indonesia's reluctance to put pressure on North Korea might stem from its long-standing good relations with North Korea, which give Indonesia a unique opportunity to be a bridge-builder between isolated North Korea and the international community. In terms of its relations with other countries, North Korea turned its focus to bilateral relations with Indonesia since it perceives Indonesia under Yudhoyono as one of the few democratic countries with which it still has good relations. According to former Indonesian Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa, cooperation with North Korea continues to be developed and is part of a broader strategy of Indonesia's foreign policy at the global level.⁴³⁰ By engaging with North Korea, Indonesian foreign policymakers believe that North Korea could be as open as Myanmar. Natalegawa argued that through this interaction – communication in all fields, including sports, trade, investment and cultural exchange – Indonesia can help North Korea to put an end to isolation from the international community.⁴³¹

In order to establish self-confidence for North Korea to engage with the international community, the Indonesian government has continued its efforts to make North Korea feel comfortable to interact with Indonesia as well as to exchange views with Indonesia. Thus, Indonesia's stance that seems to shield North Korea from criticism in the UN Human Rights Council resolutions is part of the Indonesian strategy to engage with North Korea.⁴³² Indeed according to Indonesian policymakers,

⁴³⁰ Berita Satu, "Indonesia Dorong Perbaikan HAM Di Korut," *Beritasatu.Com*, May 15, 2012, <http://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/48385-indonesia-dorong-perbaikan-ham-di-korut.html>.

⁴³¹ the Jakarta Post, "Marty's North Korea Visit to Improve Bilateral Relations," *The Jakarta Post*, October 23, 2013, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/10/23/marty-s-north-korea-visit-improve-bilateral-relations.html>.

⁴³² senior diplomat within Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 13 July 2015

Indonesia's effort in engaging North Korea has had some positive effect. North Korea has seen Indonesia as an honest mediator that can potentially help to mediate a return to the Six-Party Talks.⁴³³ North Korea Foreign Minister Ri Su Yong has submitted a proposal to the Indonesian foreign minister, which might ease the tension in the region. North Korea hoped that Indonesia could communicate the proposal to other parties.

South Korea also has a similar view to North Korea in regard to Indonesia's potential role in mediating the conflict between the two countries. Given its good and healthy relations with both Koreas, the Ambassador of South Korea (ROK) to Indonesia, Cho Tai-young, hoped that Indonesia could engage more actively in campaigning for peace on the Korean peninsula.

However, Indonesia's efforts to engage North Korea with the international community are forcing Indonesia not to raise concerns about its human rights abuse. Indonesia is one of a few countries along with China, Cuba and Russia that never vote in favour of UN Human Rights Council Resolutions on the human rights situation in North Korea. Furthermore, in 2013, during Indonesia's diplomatic visit to North Korea, the Indonesian delegation did not discuss human rights and democracy in North Korea. The official meeting only included a discussion on the economic relations between the two countries.⁴³⁴

Marzuki Darusman, a former Indonesian Attorney General and politician who is also the UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in North Korea, urged the Indonesian government to change its attitude towards North Korea and follow the international mainstream, which supports a resolution that condemns the human rights situation in North Korea.⁴³⁵ Indeed there is a shifting from Indonesian voting behaviour in UN Human Rights Council regarding human rights situation in North Korea. As seen in the table below, from 2008 to 2010, Indonesia always voted against resolutions on the human rights situation in North Korea. However, from 2014, due to pressure by both

⁴³³ Ankit Panda, "Will Indonesia Save the Six Party Talks? | The Diplomat," *The Diplomat*, August 16, 2014, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/08/will-indonesia-save-the-six-party-talks/>.

⁴³⁴ Zachary Keck, "Why Is Indonesia Courting North Korea?," *The Diplomat*, November 2, 2013, <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/why-is-indonesia-courting-north-korea/>.

⁴³⁵ Arkhelaus Wisnu, "Marzuki Darusman Dorong RI Dukung Resolusi Korea Utara," *Tempo.Co*, September 16, 2015, http://dunia.tempo.co/read/news/2015/09/16/118701220/marzuki-darusman-dorong-ri-dukung-resolusi-korea-utara?fb_comment_id=1093795307311190_1094212500602804#f35864e2d8.

domestic NGOs as well as the international community, Indonesia shifted its voting to abstain. As stated by Foreign Minister Natalegawa:

Indonesia continues to review and adjust its position on various issues concerning the human rights situation in certain countries, which receive special attention from year to year, both in the Human Rights Council and in the General Assembly, based on a constructive spirit for the promotion and protection of human rights.⁴³⁶

Despite the shift, many Indonesian human rights activists have urged that rather than abstaining, Indonesia should have voted yes to the resolution on North Korea to send a strong message to the regime regarding the human rights abuse that is happening in the country.⁴³⁷ However, it seems that Indonesia prefers not to directly persuade North Korea to improve the human rights situation in the communist state. Thus, it is not surprising that many critics find that Indonesia's approach towards North Korea undermines its commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights on a global level.

Table 5.2 Indonesia's voting record regarding North Korea

Year	Number	Title	Vote
2008	7/15	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Against
2009	10/16	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Against
2010	13/14	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Against
2012	19/13	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Consensus

⁴³⁶ Council on Foreign relations, A Conversation with Marty Natalegawa, September 27, 2011, <https://www.cfr.org/event/conversation-marty-natalegawa-1>.

⁴³⁷ KontraS, "Surat Terbuka: Pemerintah Indonesia Tidak Pro HAM Dan Demokrasi Dengan Kembali 'Abstain' Dalam Resolusi PBB Terhadap Korea Utara" (KontraS: Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Kekerasan, November 25, 2014), <http://www.kontras.org/home/index.php?module=pers&id=1974>.

Year	Number	Title	Vote
2013	19/13	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Consensus
2014	25/25	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Abstention
2015	28/22	The situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Abstention

Source: Human Rights Watch, <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/un/elections/asia/indonesia.htm>

Conclusion

The empirical analysis of its role in the UN Human Rights Council shows that Indonesia has ambivalent roles when it comes to promoting human rights norm at the global level. While Indonesia's stance regarding strengthening human rights mechanism seems to challenge the Western-dominated liberal international order, the cause of such a stance does not stem from Indonesia's search for autonomy from Western values. Domestically, Indonesia has widened its engagement with the international human rights regime through the signing, accession or ratification of international human rights instruments. Regionally, it has become a proponent that pushes to make the agenda of human rights central to ASEAN's objectives and mechanisms. The evidence above further suggests that Indonesia's domestic political issue related to its territorial integrity, namely the problem of the separatist movement in the provinces of West Papua, has forced it to block initiatives to strengthen global human rights governance by endorsing the negative reform of the UN Human Rights Council. This can be attributed to the fear that a more powerful UN mechanism would backfire for Indonesia considering that its domestic separatist issue is yet to be resolved.

As argued in Chapter 2, there are two types of role conflict stemming from differences between regional and global levels. The first is where one particular role is manifested differently at the regional and global levels. The second is where one particular role is highly performed and seemingly treated as a part of state identity in one level but

contested and utterly disregarded in the other level. The above analysis shows that the reason for Indonesia's lack of enactment of the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights at the global level can be attributed to the emergence of the second type of role conflict. In our case, the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights is highly enacted at the regional level but seemingly abandoned at the global level. The reason for this, as argued throughout the chapter, could be linked to three main considerations driving Indonesia's stance in global human rights governance especially in relation to country-specific issues.

The first is the extent to which the human rights problems in specific countries are framed and discussed in a way that might threaten the territorial integrity of the country under scrutiny. The international scrutiny that might threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity are more likely to be opposed by Indonesia. This is important for Indonesia given that it has historical experience being scrutinised and still has ongoing separatist movement issue in its Papuan provinces in which the issue of human rights could be mobilised to internationalise the secessionist movement agenda. The second is the extent to which regional mechanisms can handle and provide a solution to human rights issues. Given its long-standing focus on regional solutions for the regional problem, Indonesia is more likely to prefer a regional mechanism to solve human rights issues, which reduces the likelihood of outsider intervention. The third is the extent to which Indonesia can exploit its position as a bridge-builder at the international level. Given its rising profile at the international level as an emerging democratic power, Indonesia has increasingly taken on the role of bridge-builder between developing countries and the developed world.

As a bridge-builder, Indonesia tends to see the outbreak of human rights violations in developing countries as the inability of the state to protect its citizens. In this regard, for Indonesia, the issue of human rights cannot be separated from the issue of a state's capacity to govern and administer its territory effectively. Thus, the solution for human rights violations should be directed more to the role of the international community to help the state to be able to perform the function of providing security and protection rather than shaming the state. This stance has made Indonesia, from the beginning, express its discomfort with country-specific issues, which can be highly politicised. While the role indeed provides Indonesia with leverage to socialise an abusive regime

towards the international community, it also creates an ambivalent role for Indonesia in global human rights governance. By using the justification that it tries to engage the abusive regime with the international community, this stand causes Indonesia to be seen as a country that protects abusive regimes from the pressure of the international community which stands in contrast with its effort to promote democracy and human rights at the regional level.

PART III INDONESIA IN TRADE GOVERNANCE

Chapter 6

Managing domestic contestation: Indonesia's role in regional trade governance

Introduction

In the previous part, this thesis showed how Indonesia's ambivalent role in the realm of democracy and human rights issues could be attributed to the emergence of inter-role conflict in the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions in the post-authoritarian period. The previous part also touched upon the importance of domestic political processes such as historical experience and the state transformation process undergone since the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime. This part, which consists of this chapter and the next one, examines Indonesia's role conceptions within regional and global trade governance. The chapters aim to show how the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions in the economic realm, particularly in regard to trade governance, face different challenges to its role enactment in the realm of democracy and human rights.

At the regional level, Indonesia has enacted the role of advocate of democracy and human rights in the region. However, at the global level, Indonesia has been prevented from enacting such a role due to efforts to sustain its bridge-builder role as well as the need to counter the internationalisation of the separatist movement in Papua. In contrast with the human rights issue, this thesis finds that Indonesia's role as a regional leader is more constrained in the realm of regional trade governance while it plays a more significant role in global trade governance by taking the role of bridge-builder.

This chapter aims to explain this puzzle by examining how the process of state transformation, which has led to a fragmented state agency, hinders the coherent enactment of Indonesia's role conception in the realm of trade governance. To do so, this chapter analyses the ambivalence between Indonesia's role conceptions and its trade policy in enhancing free trade at the regional level through the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and the ongoing negotiation of a mega-regional project, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

As argued in Chapter 3, the insistence of Indonesia's support towards the regional integration project is the result of its role as a regional leader being treated as a reflection of Indonesia's biographical narrative, which can legitimise the enactment of such a role in regional trade governance. This chapter argues that Indonesia's ambition to enact the role of regional leader in Southeast Asia by continuously providing new ideas and direction to regional institution-building has pushed its foreign trade rhetoric to support liberal economic policies. However, the enactment of such a role has been hindered precisely because the translation of the role of regional leader within regional trade governance has taken the form of the advancement of a project aimed at integrating the region into one single market. The neoliberal norm underpinning the project has not been well-received by the majority of domestic actors in Indonesia and has only been advocated by economic and technocratic elites. As a result, the enactment of the role of regional leader in the realm of regional trade governance is not thoroughly embraced by policymakers in other ministries.

The conceptualisation of such roles is mostly driven by the foreign policy agenda, set out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The issue is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no competence in the realm of trade issues. Instead, such a role conception is primarily articulated into a set of regional trade policy goals and objectives within the authority of ministries such as the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Industry, and the Ministry of Agriculture. These ministries are also responsible for translating the international commitment made at the regional level into domestic policies. This considerable institutional set-up has created fragmentation in the enactment of Indonesia's role conception in the realm of regional trade governance. Moreover, the state transformation process has also given space for domestic economy actors, that may be resistant towards the enactment of certain roles, to influence and capture the ministries focusing on the implementation of trade policy commitments to reject the enactment of such roles.

As a result, there is substantial incoherence in the enactment of Indonesia's role conception in the realm of regional trade governance and the policies it implements. While Indonesia rhetorically subscribes to one particular role conception, at the policy level this role conception is not reflected in the policies made by other ministries responsible for translating the role conception into policies. However, despite

attracting significant domestic contestation, Indonesia's role conception towards regional trade governance can still be characterised as that of an aspiring regional leader due to the role legitimisation process mobilised by policymakers.

To substantiate the argument, this chapter is organised as follows. In the second section, it provides an overview of the impact of Indonesia's state transformation on its trade policymaking process. It also explains how this state transformation has affected the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions in regard to regional trade governance. The third section discusses how the insistent enactment of the role of regional leader in enhancing the AEC as a part of continuing Indonesia's biographical narrative has been contested by a coalition of domestic political actors and other state agency particularly the Ministry of Industry. The fourth section examines the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions in its negotiating position in the ongoing RCEP negotiations. In particular, the section discusses how Indonesia needs to balance the growing pressure from the mainstream nationalistic view of its socio-economic and aspiration to maintain its leadership in pushing forward the RCEP negotiation. The last section provides an overall discussion of how the state transformation literature provides a more nuanced understanding of the enactment of role conceptions.

State transformation and Indonesia's trade policy

In this section, I discuss how Indonesia's state transformation process affects its role enactment within regional trade governance. Much of the literature on the political economy of Southeast Asian trade policy is mainly state-centric in its analysis in which states are treated as generally enjoying a substantial autonomy from domestic actors' interests in formulating foreign economic policies.⁴³⁸ Thus, compared with other studies on the US or the EU trade policy, the literature on the domestic politics of trade

⁴³⁸ A study that aimed to investigate this can be seen in the works of Nesadurai, e.g. Helen E. S. Nesadurai, *Globalisation, Domestic Politics and Regionalism* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Helen Nesadurai, "The Political Economy of Southeast Asia's Foreign Economic Policies and Relations," in *The Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*, ed. Saadia Pekkanen, John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot, 2014.

policy in Asian countries is often very thin.⁴³⁹ Building upon the tradition of political economy studies of regional integration project that focus on how the domestic political economy processes have shaped the outcome of regional economic integration projects, in this thesis, I aim to link the discussion with the literature on foreign policy analysis. To do so, in this section, I discuss the state transformation process within a broader discussion on role theory. I focus primarily with respect to how the process complicates the interactions within state institutions that affect the overall role enactment by the state at the regional level. In our case, while one agency within the state such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs may have a higher autonomy to conceptualise Indonesia's role conception in regional trade governance, however, the implementation of such role conception may become an arena for contestation by other agencies that have diverging interest. This contestation is made possible by the process of state transformation.

As previously stated in Chapter 2, along with the democratisation process that has led the country to embrace democratic norms, Indonesia has also undergone a state transformation process that has altered the organising principle of the Indonesian state. While under Suharto's authoritarian regime, the organising principle revolved around a supreme patriarch that put the regime above society, in the post-authoritarian period, democratisation has opened up the marketplace of potential patrons to domestic economic-political actors, enabling them to compete with one another to capture the agency or apparatus within the state.⁴⁴⁰

This competition between domestic political actors in capturing and influencing the government agencies and apparatus has been more apparent within the realm of the economic policy-making process, particularly among those related to international trade-related issues. As shown by Basri and Hill, the effect of the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime is evident in the formulation of trade policies. While under Suharto's authoritarian regime, trade policy-making was centralised based on the technocratic outlook of elite circles, in the post-authoritarian era, Indonesia's trade

⁴³⁹ John Ravenhill, "The Political Economy of an 'Asian' Mega-FTA: The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership," *Asian Survey* 56, no. 6 (December 1, 2016): 1077–1100.

⁴⁴⁰ Edward Aspinall, "A Nation in Fragments," *Critical Asian Studies* 45, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 27–54.

policy making has been democratised with a growing number of domestic actors playing more significant roles in affecting the outcome of Indonesia's trade policies.⁴⁴¹ That is not to mention that decentralisation, as one of the important features of Indonesian democratisation, has made the policy-making process more diffused, involving actors from a wide range of levels.

Thus, while under an authoritarian regime, the policy-making process in the area of trade issues was centralised, which provided a coherent policy outcome, in the post-authoritarian era, the political economic landscape of the policy-making process in regard to trade issues has been more fragmented and decentralised, which has created a conflicting and incoherent policy outcome. As a result, the Indonesian democratic transition has made Indonesia prone to domestic dynamics in influencing its trade, just as democratic countries are prone to domestic political dynamics, as shown by several IPE literature on domestic politics and trade policy.⁴⁴²

In the post-authoritarian period, the Ministry of Trade is the main focal point for the government in formulating Indonesia's negotiating position in the regional and global multilateral trade system. This stems from the authority of the Ministry to formulate both international and domestic trade policy. However, as shown in Chapter 3, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also plays a significant role in the decision-making process regarding international trade negotiations given that international trade policies can also relate to Indonesian foreign policy objectives. This is particularly true within the realm of regional economic governance, in which regional economic integration projects have been used as a platform for Yudhoyono's administration to enhance Indonesia's foreign policy agenda. This means that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also plays an active and vital role alongside the Ministry of Trade in the preparation of trade negotiations in the area of regional and multilateral governance.

⁴⁴¹ M. Chatib Basri and Hal Hill, "Indonesia – Trade Policy Review 2007," *World Economy* 31, no. 11 (November 1, 2008): 1393–1408.

⁴⁴² Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, *Votes, Vetoes, and the Political Economy of International Trade Agreements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Gabriel Siles-Brügge, *Constructing European Union Trade Policy: A Global Idea of Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Besides these two central ministries, other agencies have important roles in the formulation of the country's regional trade policy, namely, the Coordinating Ministry for Economy, the Ministry of Finance and the National Development Planning Agency, as well as other sectoral ministries such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ministry of Labour.⁴⁴³ The involvement of other ministries within the trade policy-making process has created a major challenge for the Ministry of Trade in pursuing its international trade agenda. As argued by Bird, Hill and Cuthbertson, the institutional problem for Indonesia in the post-authoritarian era in articulating its international trade policy, particularly during Yudhoyono's presidency, has been the absence of a single minister able 'to take control over the full array of trade policy instruments and to adopt an economy-wide public interest viewpoint'.⁴⁴⁴

During Yudhoyono's presidency, the international trade agenda was also used as a platform for the foreign policy establishment to further Indonesia's foreign policy objectives. The core of Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader in the realm of trade governance is its support for the liberalisation of the Southeast Asian market through a regional free trade agreement. The Indonesian foreign policy agenda, which emphasises a stronger regional institution, could be achieved through promoting the creation of a regional economic integration project in Southeast Asia. Moreover, through the creation of a trade agreement that puts ASEAN at the centre, Indonesian policymakers in the foreign policy establishment hope that Indonesia can make ASEAN central in the evolving regional order in East Asia. In this regard, Indonesia's trade policies, which are accommodating towards the liberalisation project, support Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader, which emphasises the strengthening of ASEAN both internally and externally.

However, the Ministry of Trade, which has become the focal point in coordinating Indonesia's position in many trade-related negotiations, has been constrained by domestic economic actors in enacting foreign trade policies that may not favour their

⁴⁴³ Alexander C. Chandra and Lutfiyah Hanim, "Indonesia," in *Governments, Non-State Actors and Trade Policy-Making: Negotiating Preferentially Or Multilaterally?*, ed. Ann Capling and Patrick Low (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁴⁴ Kelly Bird, Hal Hill, and Sandy Cuthbertson, "Making Trade Policy in a New Democracy after a Deep Crisis: Indonesia," *World Economy* 31, no. 7 (July 1, 2008): 16, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9701.2008.01110.x>.

interests. It seems to be the case that the role conceptions projected by President Yudhoyono and his foreign policy establishment through a commitment to enhancing free trade have not been followed by implementation by other relevant state agencies. Although on paper, there is coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Trade, so that the policies and positions taken by the Ministry of Trade reflect the projection of Indonesia's role conception, in reality, the coordination is a chaotic process that is seldom leading to coherent outcomes.⁴⁴⁵

In the realm of democracy and human rights governance, the emergence of role conflict has been mainly caused by the different global and regional contexts in which Indonesia enacts its roles. In the realm of regional trade governance, given the fragmentation of the Indonesian state, the constraint over the enactment of its role conception appears to be mainly due to the incoherence in articulating the role conception between the Indonesian foreign policy establishment and the policymakers in charge of trade issues. This is because, while the foreign trade agenda is mobilised to pursue the role of regional leader, the ministries responsible for articulating such an agenda are still profoundly influenced by domestic socio-economic actors that tend to lean more towards protectionist policies.

As stated by the Director General of International Trade within the Ministry of Trade:

In Indonesia, international trade decision-making involves many ministries, and coordination among ministries is quite absent in the synchronisation of our voices abroad and decisions taken at home. This is because sometimes we have different visions. Although internally our stance would be different, we always voice out the same vision in our negotiations position. I can make sure we always get along together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is just that the profile is different between the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Trade; the Foreign Ministry may be more active in voicing out their position because they do not have domestic constituents that are sensitive as in the economic sector as faced by the Ministry of Trade.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ Author's personal interview with official from the Directorate of Commerce, Commodities and Intellectual Property, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 10 July 2016.

⁴⁴⁶ Author's personal interview with General Director, Directorate General of International Trade, Ministry of Trade, 25 September 2016.

To enact the role of regional leader in the realm of regional trade governance, there were efforts to contextualise Indonesia's commitment towards such a role by advocating in favour of the trade liberalisation process in the region. This is evident in the number of free trade agreements signed by Indonesia in the last few decades, which has grown significantly despite the lack of coherence with the domestic regulations issued.⁴⁴⁷ During Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia had eight FTAs in effect, of which six were part of the regional free trade agreement through ASEAN Plus one free trade agreement with Australia, New Zealand, China, India, Japan and Korea. Only two are bilateral, namely the Indonesia-Japan EPA and the Indonesia-Pakistan FTA. These agreements mean that Indonesia has FTAs with trading partners that account for 67 percent of its total trade (see table 6.1). Moreover, during Yudhoyono's presidency, Indonesia launched negotiations for seven more free trade agreements. Although, compared to other ASEAN countries, the number of Indonesia's free trade agreements could be considered modest, the number of free trade agreements discussed and signed shows that Yudhoyono's presidency aspired to have a friendly policy towards the regional integration project as well as supporting the trade liberalisation project (see figure 6.1).

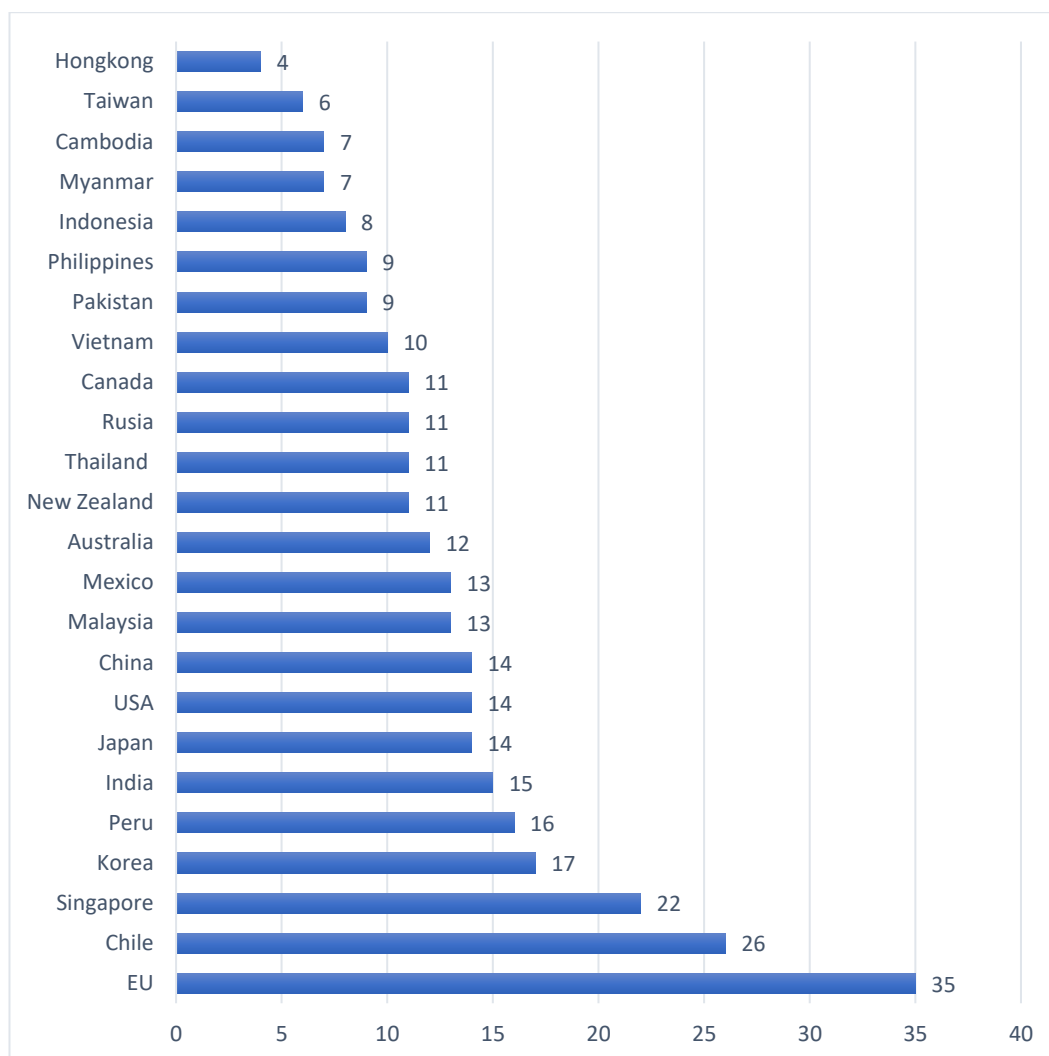
⁴⁴⁷ <http://www.kemendag.go.id/files/pdf/2017/03/16/pemerintah-berkomitmen-tingkatkan-kualitas-regulasi-id0-1489644293.pdf>

Table 6.1 FTAs launched and signed during Yudhoyono era, 2004 – 2014

No	Name	Status	Dates
1	ASEAN-Australia and New Zealand Free Trade Agreement	Signed and In Effect	1 January 2010
2	ASEAN-People's Republic of China Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement	Signed and In Effect	1 July 2005
3	ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership	Signed and In Effect	1 December 2008
4	ASEAN-India Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement	Signed and In Effect	1 January 2010
5	ASEAN- Korea Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement	Signed and In Effect	1 June 2007
6	Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement	Signed and In Effect	1 July 2008
7	Pakistan-Indonesia Free Trade Agreement	Signed and In Effect	13 August 2013
8	Preferential Tariff Arrangement-Group of Eight Developing Countries	Signed and In Effect	25 August 2011
9	ASEAN-Hong Kong, China Free Trade Agreement	Launched	11 July 2014
10	India-Indonesia Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Arrangement	Launched	4 October 2011
11	Indonesia-Australia Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement	Launched	26 September 2012
12	Indonesia-Chile Free Trade Agreement	Launched	2014
13	Indonesia-European Free Trade Association Free Trade Agreement	Launched	31 January 2011
14	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership	Launched	9 May 2013
15	Korea-Indonesia Free Trade Agreement	Launched	12 July 2012

Source: WTO RTA-IS database <https://rtais.wto.org/UI/PublicMaintainRTAHome.aspx>

Figure 6.1 Comparison of number FTAs for selected countries



Source: WTO RTA-IS database <https://rtais.wto.org/UI/PublicMaintainRTAHome.aspx>

The Ministry of Industry, however, responded to the commitment to enhance the liberalisation process through FTAs made by the Ministry of Trade with more restrictive measures, instead of liberalising measures. Contestation from the Ministry regarding Indonesia's growing liberalisation is illustrated by the statements and policies expressed, which do not correspond to the position expressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Trade. The contestation became more apparent with the separation of the Ministry of Trade and Industry into two separate ministries,

the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry, in the early months of Yudhoyono's presidency.

Since the separation, the Ministry of Industry has become the agency that is continuously lobbying for and pushing the agenda of protectionism. The Ministry of Industry has even pushed for a temporary suspension of FTAs as one of its priorities due to the negative effect these bring to the Indonesian manufacturing sector.⁴⁴⁸ MS Hidayat, the Minister of Industry during Yudhoyono's presidency, stressed that FTAs should not only emphasise the trade aspect as negotiated by the Ministry of Trade but should also include investment commitments such as opening up new factories and technology transfer in order to make them beneficial for the Indonesian industrial and manufacturing sector.⁴⁴⁹ Despite the call for an FTA moratorium from the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Trade asserted that there would be no attempt to temporarily halt the FTAs between Indonesia and its partner countries.

Moreover, while several units within the Ministry of Trade were designed to enhance free trade, the units and bureaucratic structure within the Ministry of Industry was designed to impede the process. For instance, when the Ministry of Trade formed the Directorate General of International Trade Negotiations, the Ministry of Industry established the Directorate General of Resilience and Development of International Industrial Access. While the Directorate General at the Ministry of Trade was tasked with creating policies to deepen and widen Indonesia's international trade, the Directorate General of Resilience and Development of International Industrial Access issued protectionist policies.⁴⁵⁰ Hence, there is a widespread perception at the Ministry of Trade that the formation of the general directorate and directorate within the Ministry of Industry aimed to undermine the policies created by the Ministry of Trade.

In the post-authoritarian era, the state transformation process also allows growing efforts by business actors to try to bring the government agencies in line with their economic interests. Several business associations have been successful in such an

⁴⁴⁸ Damiana Ningsih and Hari Gunarto, "FTA Perlu Disuspensi Sementara | Investor Daily," *Investor Daily*, August 15, 2013, <http://id.beritasatu.com/home/fta-perlu-disuspensi-sementara/66720>.

⁴⁴⁹ Riendy Astria, "Negosiasi FTA Harus Dengan Komitmen Investasi," *Bisnis Indonesia*, August 14, 2013, <http://industri.bisnis.com/read/20130814/257/156605/javascript>.

⁴⁵⁰ Author's personal interview with expert staff from the Ministry of Trade, Jakarta, 10 September 2016.

endeavour. Chief among these is the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry known as KADIN. The initial goal of establishing KADIN in Suharto's era was for its members to become a government partner in the planning, implementation and evaluation of economic programmes desired by the government. The link between KADIN and the government was so strong during Suharto's authoritarian regime era that it became an extension of the regime to keep businesses in line with the regime's vision and mission in the economic sector.⁴⁵¹ KADIN's influential position prompted business people to become members of the Chamber to gain access to business from the government.

In the post-authoritarian period, KADIN has transformed into an interest group that is constantly lobbying the government agencies that deal with economic issues.⁴⁵² The Ministry of Industry is the part of the state whose vision and interests are most in line with that of KADIN. In fact, since 2004, there has been an unwritten convention in which the minister post for the Ministry of Industry always goes to the former chairman or other high-ranking officials of KADIN. Thus, arguably, the Ministry of Industry has been captured by KADIN. Through the Ministry of Industry, the Indonesian private sector can enhance its agenda and interests by influencing and contesting the policies made by other state apparatuses that are not in line with their interests.

Besides KADIN, labour and farmer unions are domestic actors that are active in voicing their rejection of the notion of regional market integration. Normatively, Labour and farmers movements such as the All-Indonesia Trade Union Confederation (KSPI), Federation of Indonesian Workers Struggle (FPBI), and Indonesian Peasant Union (SPI) have rejected the introduction of free markets in ASEAN. Nevertheless, the lobbying of the labour movement on issues related to regional economic integration is not as intense as the entrepreneurs who are generally represented by KADIN that able to influence Indonesia's state apparatus. This may be because in the post-authoritarian regime the labour movement in Indonesia is fragmented and still struggling with issues of labour dispute with employers.

⁴⁵¹ Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*.

⁴⁵² Ratnia Solihah, "Pola Relasi Bisnis dan Politik di Indonesia Masa Reformasi: Kasus Rent-Seeking," *Jurnal Wacana Politik* 1, no. 1 (March 2, 2016).

As discussed above, the fragmentation of the Indonesian state apparatus plays a significant role in making the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions ambivalent. The ambivalent enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions in the realm of trade also stems from the lack of acceptance of the neoliberal norm within Indonesia's political establishment. As argued in Chapter 4, Indonesia's transition towards democracy could be translated into the role of advocate of democracy and human rights at the regional level. However, Indonesia still has an internal debate regarding the neoliberal norm as the governing principle of the market.

In the Indonesian context, which resonates with a broader phenomenon of democratic transition in Latin America and the former socialist states, the neoliberalism agenda has been framed as necessary part of the transition to democracy.⁴⁵³ The neoliberalism agenda, which includes extensive privatisation and the promotion of alliances between foreign and domestic capital, was believed to be able to dissolve rent-seeking behaviour by the government in the Indonesian market. Moreover, the opening up of the Indonesian market to the world economy is believed to have exposed Indonesia to more international pressure to preserve democracy.

Although the relation is strongly contested, given that there is also the phenomenon in which authoritarianism is continuing to thrive in the neoliberalising Southeast Asian state,⁴⁵⁴ neoliberal reforms are often presented as being in favour of democracy.⁴⁵⁵ Hence, Indonesia's neoliberal reform is treated as part of a broader democratisation process. This has solidified the need for Indonesia to promote neoliberal values throughout the region as part of an effort to create a sound and cohesive regional integration project. As a result, many within Indonesia's foreign policy establishment, along with technocrats in the Ministry of Finance and President Yudhoyono himself, have framed the need for Indonesia to be the driver of the regional economic integration project as part of the larger effort to enact the role of advocate of democracy and human rights.

⁴⁵³ Kurt Weyland, "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record," *Latin American Politics and Society* 46, no. 1 (April 1, 2004): 135–57.

⁴⁵⁴ Simon Springer, "Renewed Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: Undermining Democracy through Neoliberal Reform," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 50, no. 3 (December 1, 2009): 271–76.

⁴⁵⁵ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

In his speech before the ASEAN Forum, Yudhoyono reiterated his notion of ASEAN's values also embracing the free market:

Today we have to rethink ASEAN in that new light. We have to think in terms of the need for political cohesiveness among the members of the ASEAN family. Such political cohesiveness should stem from a shared commitment to the fundamental values of democracy, human rights and the free market.⁴⁵⁶

In this speech, Yudhoyono made clear that he perceived the importance of free market within ASEAN as part of a wider, strategic, objective concerning the need to utilise some form of economic statecraft to maintain ASEAN political unity. However, at the policy level, this objective has not been well implemented. In the political and security realm, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during Yudhoyono's presidency put many resources into enacting the role of advocate of democracy and human rights norms within ASEAN. However, in the realm of regional economic integration, the administration seems to be more restrained in voicing support for economic openness and liberalisation, which affects further economic regional integration. Indonesia's biographical narrative as a post-colonial state has, to some extent, affected how the idea of free trade is seen among both Indonesia's political elites and the broader public.

As discussed in Chapter 3, in the aftermath of the collapse of the Indonesian economy, when a neoliberal prescription were forced on Indonesia by the IMF,⁴⁵⁷ there was a growing perception among the political elites and Indonesian public that Indonesia was under foreign influence. However, for many economic liberals, the IMF interventions have been treated as recipes for optimism, particularly in regard to the opening up of Indonesia's engagement with the regional and global economic order.⁴⁵⁸ Several high-profile economists, bureaucrats and politicians who are more internationalised in their outlook, such as Sri Mulyani, Chatib Basri and Mari Elka

⁴⁵⁶ Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, "Keynote Speech by H.E. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono President Republic of Indonesia At the ASEAN Forum: Rethinking ASEAN Towards the ASEAN Community 2015" (ASEAN Secretariat, August 7, 2007), http://asean.org/?static_post=keynote-speech-by-he-susilo-bambang-yudhoyono-president-republic-of-indonesia-at-the-asean-forum-rethinking-asean-towards-the-asean-community-2015-jakarta-7-august-2007.

⁴⁵⁷ Mark Beeson and Iyanatul Islam, "Neo-Liberalism and East Asia: Resisting the Washington Consensus," *The Journal of Development Studies* 41, no. 2 (February 1, 2005): 197–219, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022038042000309214>.

⁴⁵⁸ Garry Rodan and Caroline Hughes, *The Politics of Accountability in Southeast Asia: The Dominance of Moral Ideologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Pangestu served in Yudhoyono's economic team. The number of economic technocrats that served in Yudhoyono's administration who were much more inclined towards economic openness, rather than protectionism, resulted in the perception that the administration adhered to market liberalisation.

Furthermore, while at the beginning, Indonesia's role of regional leader was developed within the context of political and security cooperation, the evolution of ASEAN into a single regional market has affected Indonesia's articulation of the role of regional leader. The foreign policy establishment legitimise Indonesia's support towards economic integration of ASEAN as a part of the enactment of its role as a regional leader. It is not surprising to see that Indonesia frequently opts to forge FTAs with partner countries through ASEAN rather than bilateral agreement. By doing this, Yudhoyono's government could legitimise the proliferation of the FTAs towards its domestic audiences as a part of Indonesia's role in making ASEAN central to the broader evolution of the East Asian regional order. The next section will further substantiate this claim.

Fragmented enactment of roles in the AEC

Having discussed how Indonesia's state transformation may have affected the enactment of its role conceptions, this section illustrates the dynamics of the enactment of Indonesia's role conception in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). The AEC is a further deepening of the ASEAN economic integration process that began with the establishment of the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement signed on 28 January 1992 in Singapore. The objective of AFTA is to increase ASEAN's competitive edge as a production base in the world market through the elimination of tariffs, by creating a common effective preferential tariff scheme. While AFTA focuses solely on trade related to goods, and covers nearly 98 percent of all tariff lines in ASEAN, there is an urge to further integrate the economies of ASEAN member countries to strengthen ASEAN's economic cohesion. After the economic crisis in Southeast Asia, at the 9th ASEAN Summit in Bali, Indonesia in 2003, the ASEAN Heads of State agreed to establish the ASEAN Community through the declaration of the ASEAN Bali Concord II. The AEC was envisioned as a regional community based on three pillars,

namely the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APCS), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). In order to establish the AEC by 2015, the member countries agreed to transform ASEAN into a regional economic community through the implementation of several measures referred to in the AEC Blueprint.

The AEC Blueprint published in 2008 contains four main components, namely: (1) ASEAN as a single market and production base supported by the free flow of goods, services, investments, high-skilled labour and capital; (2) ASEAN as an area of high economic competitiveness, with competition rules, consumer protection, intellectual property rights, infrastructure development, taxation, and e-commerce; (3) ASEAN as an area with equitable economic development with elements of small and medium enterprise development, and ASEAN integration initiatives for CMLV countries; and (4) ASEAN as a region that is fully integrated with the global economy that needs to have a coherent approach to economic relations outside the region, and increasing participation in global production networks.⁴⁵⁹ The blueprint also stipulates that there are twelve priority sectors to be integrated within the framework of the ASEAN Economic Community. Seven of these are goods sectors, namely the agro-industry, fisheries, the rubber-based industry, textile and textile products, wood and wood products, electronic equipment and the automotive industry. The rest are service sectors, namely air transportation, health services, tourism, logistics, and the information technology industry or e-ASEAN. The integration of these sectors would certainly bring implications, especially in terms of the movement of goods and services among ASEAN countries being increasingly free. In addition, the integration is also expected to affect the movement of factors of production, especially labour movement, among member countries.⁴⁶⁰

Unlike in the democracy and human rights realm, since the beginning, Indonesia's foreign policy elites have not invested many resources into enhancing the ASEAN regional integration project through economic integration. From the beginning, Singapore drove the regional economic integration project through AFTA and later on

⁴⁵⁹ ASEAN, "ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint" (ASEAN Secretariat, January 2008), <http://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/archive/5187-10.pdf>. ASEAN document; ASEAN, 2007a and ASEAN, 2013

⁴⁶⁰ ASEAN.

the AEC. Although Indonesia did not play an essential part in initiating the regional integration project, the Indonesian foreign policy and economic establishment, particularly during Yudhoyono's presidency, has increasingly treated the idea of forging closer economic integration among Southeast Asian members through the AEC as part of Indonesia's geopolitical strategy to maintain ASEAN's centrality, rather than just seeing it as in its economic interests.

Arguably, Indonesia's support in enhancing the economic integration agenda is framed as part of Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader.⁴⁶¹ Its aspiring role to be a regional leader within ASEAN requires Indonesia to be able to maintain the relevance of ASEAN within the evolving nature of regional governance in East Asia, not only in the realm of security but also in regard to the economy. For other ASEAN members, Indonesia's regional leadership role is also crucial for the AEC to be successful, given the sheer size of its economy and population. As stated by Datuk Seri Nazir Razak, a chairperson of the Malaysian CIMB Group, a leading Bank in Malaysia, 'ASEAN is nothing without Indonesia'.⁴⁶²

The analysis above is in line with Ravenhill's argument that the pursuit of a broader regional trade agreement in East Asia is not driven mainly by economic opportunities but rather by political and security considerations.⁴⁶³ This is particularly true for the case of the AEC. The idea of establishing the AEC was part of the response to the financial crisis of 1997-1998, which required the ASEAN member states to further enhance their loose cooperation in a more structured and binding framework for policy coordination. As a result, the AEC was devised by the political elites to maintain the relevance of ASEAN in the light of the growing economic interdependence of the ASEAN members with other regional powers, such as China, Japan and South Korea. The strengthening and institutionalisation of the AEC aimed to avoid the

⁴⁶¹ Lee Jones, "Explaining the Failure of the ASEAN Economic Community: The Primacy of Domestic Political Economy," *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 5 (October 19, 2016): 647–70.

⁴⁶² Tee Lin Say, "Asean Economic Community Implementation Heavily Dependent on Indonesia," *The Star*, accessed February 12, 2017, <https://www.thestar.com.my/business/business-news/2014/11/14/indonesia-the-key-key-official-feel-there-is-a-need-for-the-largest-economy-in-asean-to-step-up/>.

⁴⁶³ John Ravenhill, "The 'New East Asian Regionalism': A Political Domino Effect," *Review of International Political Economy* 17, no. 2 (June 3, 2010): 178–208.

marginalisation of ASEAN by major powers and its disintegration due to a lack of cohesiveness among its member countries.

The enactment of Indonesia's role of regional leader within the realm of trade governance, however, is not as straightforward as it is within the realm of human rights governance. Indonesia is hardly an innovative actor in pushing the economic integration agenda within the framework of ASEAN. In fact, Indonesia tends to be more inclined to treat regional economic integration in Southeast Asia as a form of regulatory regionalism that functions as a platform to establish further coordination among state agencies and to harmonise the changes regarding domestic regulation.⁴⁶⁴ This tendency is illustrated in Indonesia's active involvement in regional regulatory initiatives such as the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralisation (CMIM), the Asian Bond Market Initiative (ABMI) and the Credit Guarantee and Investment Facility (CGIF). Those initiatives aim to strengthen the financial safety net for members of ASEAN Plus Three.⁴⁶⁵ None of these initiatives are strictly ASEAN integration projects.

Indonesia's creeping protectionism during the second half of Yudhoyono's presidency shows the internal struggle for the administration to maintain its coherent role enactment as a regional leader in the realm of regional trade governance. The internal struggle revolves around the incoherence between Indonesia's support for trade liberalisation, according to its rhetoric, and its actual domestic trade policies. This struggle is clearly illustrated by the increase in non-tariff measures put in place by ministries that deal with trade policies, such as the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Industry, and the Ministry of Agriculture. Although the tariffs have been reduced almost to zero for the majority of Indonesian products, many agencies have introduced non-tariff measures. Examples of these NTMs are the expanding quarantine requirements for various imported products and the use of the Indonesian National Standard instead of international standards for various imported goods from ASEAN member countries (see tables below).

⁴⁶⁴ Shahr Hameiri and Lee Jones, "Regulatory Regionalism and Anti-Money-Laundering Governance in Asia," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69, no. 2 (March 4, 2015): 144–63.

⁴⁶⁵ Eko Saputro, *Indonesia and ASEAN Plus Three Financial Cooperation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

Table 6.2 Number of tariff lines subject to multiple NTMs, by product group

No	Product group	1 NTM	2 NTMs	3 NTMs or more
1	Animal & Animal Products	11	9	551
2	Vegetable Products	74	12	449
3	Foodstuffs	47	2	399
4	Mineral Products	46	34	110
5	Chemicals & Allied Industries	46	200	510
6	Plastics/Rubbers	22	15	101
7	Raw Hides, Skins, Leather, & Furs	37	25	28
8	Wood & Wood Products	19	17	348
9	Textiles	2	194	958
10	Footwear/Headgear	1	6	33
11	Stone/Glass	72	20	70
12	Metals	17	15	370
13	Machinery/Electrical	98	286	491
14	Transportation	118	84	268
15	Miscellaneous	40	49	162
16	Total	650	968	4,848

Source: Ernawati Munadi, “Indonesia’s Non-Tariff Measures: An Overview,” in *Non-Tariff Measures in ASEAN*, ed. Lili Yan Ing, Santiago Fernandez de Cordoba, and Olivier Cadot (Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2016), 70.

Table 6.3 Number of non-tariff measures by issuing institutions

No	Issuing Institution	Number of NTMs	Total Number of NTMs (%)
1	Ministry of Trade	186	29.2
2	Ministry of Industry	139	21.8
3	Ministry of Agriculture	92	14.4
4	Ministry of Marine and Fisheries	70	11.0
5	World Trade Organization (the information is provided by the WTO)*	44	6.9
6	Ministry of Industry and Trade	30	4.7
7	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources	17	2.7
8	Ministry of Health	23	3.6
9	National Agency on Drug and Food Control	10	1.6
10	State Secretariat	7	1.1
11	Others	20	3.1
	Total	638	100

*Data on measures of Antidumping, counter failing duties and safeguards are provided by the WTO. The WTO does not issue any regulations.

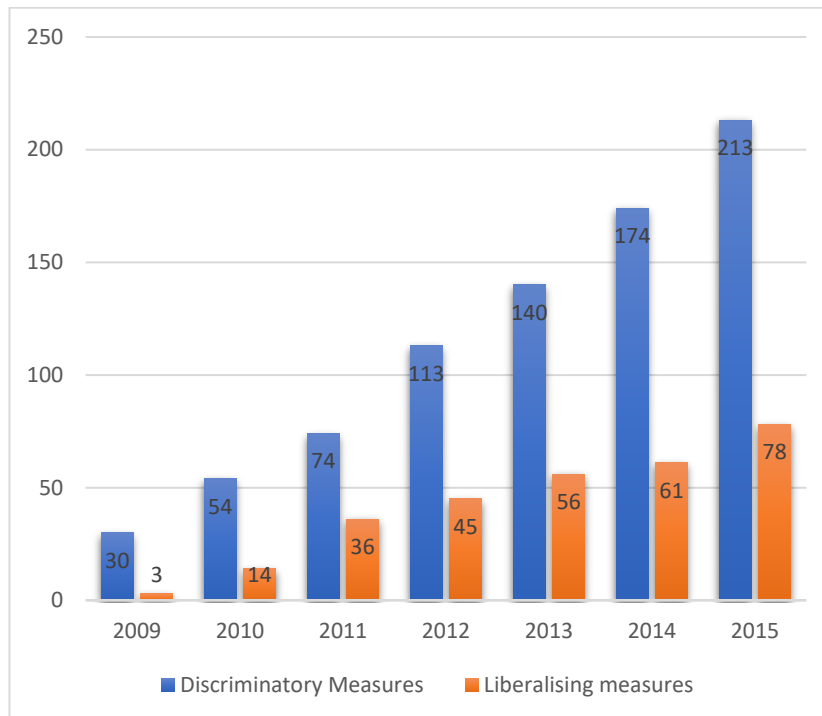
Source: Munadi, 70.

Table 6.4 Comprehensiveness of Indonesian non-tariff measures

No	NTM Regulation	Number
1	Total NTM-related regulations	199
2	Total NTM reported to the WTO	296
3	Total affected products (National tariff lines)	
	a. Total number of affected products	6,466
	b. The share of the number of affected products to the number of total products (%)	64.58%
4	Total Issuing institutions	14

Source: Munadi, 70.

Figure 6.2 Comparison of Indonesia's discriminatory and liberalising measures



In 2008, President Yudhoyono pledged to uphold the G-20 commitment on ‘Rejecting Protectionism’. Despite being projected as a government that supported regional economic integration, Yudhoyono’s administration not only increased NTMs to limit imports and exports but was also amongst the large, emerging economies that used this protectionist tool extensively to protect its domestic industry.⁴⁶⁶ As a result of this policy, Indonesia has the most restrictive NTMs among the ASEAN member states, which have been estimated to add roughly 30% to the costs of more than half of all imported goods.⁴⁶⁷ As shown in the graphic above, despite having issued some liberalising measures, discriminatory measures are increasingly used against foreign products with a number of NTM-affected foreign products is 6,466. This tells a story of Indonesia’s inclination towards a protectionist policy instead of an open market policy.

⁴⁶⁶ Chandra, “Regional Economic Building Amidst Rising Protectionism and Economic Nationalism in ASEAN.”

⁴⁶⁷ Ernst and Young, “The ASEAN Economic Community: Can the Reality Match the Vision?,” accessed February 12, 2017, <http://www.jakarta.diplo.de/contentblob/4589178/Daten/5756752/downloadaecstudie.pdf>.

Indonesia's creeping protectionism also shows how inter-agential conflict due to the state transformation has affected the enactment of Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader. While regionally, Indonesian foreign policy is directed towards fostering regional economic integration, domestically, the government agencies have not shared the same impetus to promote such integration. Indonesia's LARTAS⁴⁶⁸ database reveals that 13 different government agencies have the authority to issue non-tariff measures in the form of import permits, although the Indonesian Ministry of Trade was responsible for issuing 58 percent, on average, of the total NTMs issued between 2009 and 2014.⁴⁶⁹

Moreover, the changes in leadership in the Ministry of Trade have also affected the changes in the position of the Ministry regarding regional integration. The previous Minister of Trade, Mari Elka Pangestu, was more resistant in regard to protectionist pressures. She was one of the country's most high-profile ministers, who was widely seen as supportive of liberal and free trade policies. However, the Indonesian Trade Minister from 2011 – 2014, Gita Wirjawan, was more sympathetic to the lobbying from vested interests for Indonesia to be more protectionist.⁴⁷⁰ Under his leadership, the Ministry of Trade reinstated import licensing on some products and imposed tighter control over the distribution of imported goods, while other ministries, such as the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Agriculture, added new products to the list of those that require permits.

In the second half of Yudhoyono's presidency, the return of protectionism in Indonesian trade policies was institutionalised with the issuance of a highly protectionist trade law in 2014, Law no. 7/2014. As revealed by an official from the Ministry of Trade, while the House of Representatives introduced and passed the law, it was the Ministry of Industry that was the significant actor behind its creation. The Ministry of Industry was constantly lobbying the already nationalistic House of Representatives to pass more significant protectionist measures, on the grounds of

⁴⁶⁸ LARTAS stands for *larangan terbatas* or Import-Export Prohibition and Restriction Regulations.

⁴⁶⁹ Ernawati Munadi, "Indonesia's Non-Tariff Measures: An Overview," in *Non-Tariff Measures in ASEAN*, ed. Lili Yan Ing, Santiago Fernandez de Cordoba, and Olivier Cadot (Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2016), 65–76.

⁴⁷⁰ B. Raksaka Mahi and Suahasil Nazara, "Survey of Recent Developments," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 48, no. 1 (April 1, 2012): 7–31.

helping Indonesia's dying manufacturing sector.⁴⁷¹ The new trade law seems to have had an adverse impact on Indonesia's standing role as an advocate of the liberal norm that rhetorically emphasises the importance of international trade. This is because the law provides an opportunity for government agencies to put in place measures to protect the domestic market, such as import restrictions on commodities.

This new trade law does not set specific provisions or contain precise information, thus leaving the further technical regulations to the authority of relevant government agencies. For instance, according to Article 35 paragraph (1) letter (h) of the trade law, the government can impose restrictions on the trade of particular goods and services on the grounds that the free trade of these goods and services deemed detrimental towards Indonesia's national interest. This new regulation is highly likely to be used to create restrictions or prohibitions on the trade of goods by relevant ministries and agencies. In addition to the law on trade, many laws have been passed that have created protectionist measures in the areas of mining, food, and industry (see table 6.5).

⁴⁷¹ Author's personal interview with official from the Ministry of Industry, Jakarta, 05 September 2016.

Table 6.5 Protectionist-related laws issued during Yudhoyono's presidency

No.	Law	Measures
1	Law 4/2009 on Mineral and Coal Mining	the forbidding of the export of unprocessed minerals and coal within five years of the law's inception
2	Law 13/2010 on Horticulture	the law stipulates every person engaging in horticulture business should prioritise domestic goods and services
3	Law 18/2012 on Food	the law stipulates that food sources should come from domestic food production and national food reserves
4	Law 19/2013 on Protection and Empowerment of Farmers	the government is obliged to prioritise domestic agriculture products to meet domestic needs
5	Law 3/2014 on Industry	To empower domestic industries, the government will increase the use of domestic products or components.
6	Law 7/2014 on Trade	Two features of this law stand out: its mercantile tone and its anti-consumer stance

Source: Arianto Patunru and Sjamsu Rahardja, "Trade Protectionism in Indonesia: Bad Times and Bad Policy," Analysis (Lowy Institute for International Policy, July 2015).

The primary driver for the creeping protectionism in Indonesia, despite its continued rhetorical support for trade liberalisation, can only partially be explained by looking at a rhetoric-performance gap. The notion of domestic-driven role conflict, however, provides a more nuanced understanding of Indonesia's involvement in regional trade governance. Indeed, technocratic coalitions, which are at the helm of the decision-making process in several key ministries, have shaped Indonesia's foreign economic policy in favour of greater regional integration and openness in order to attract foreign

investment, which will generate export-led economic growth.⁴⁷² However, domestic economic actors also influence trade-related ministries, such as Ministry of Industry and Ministry of Agriculture, and makes them more likely to opt for a more protectionist approach towards a greater regional integration project.⁴⁷³

Since the beginning, KADIN, as the representative of the Indonesian private sector, has been involved in the formulation of the AEC through its engagement in the ASEAN Business Advisory Council (ASEAN-BAC). Nevertheless, when the AEC came into force, it was KADIN that was at the forefront of the criticism towards it. The main reason for this is political, given that KADIN aims to shift its position and be a vocal advocate of SMEs' interests.⁴⁷⁴ The global financial crisis, which slowed demand for Indonesian products in the global market, has also caused a shift in KADIN's standpoint towards economic integration. Moreover, the increased resistance towards liberalisation gained more traction when liberalisation came into force, which created negative consequences for Indonesian domestic economic actors.

The contestations, however, are not specifically aimed at Indonesia's role as a regional leader; rather, they are centred on the need for the state to focus more on the domestic issues. As argued by officials from the Ministry of Industry, while regional integration may provide an opportunity for Indonesia to maximise its economic opportunities, it should also be complemented by domestic reform, leading to a lowering of the costs of doing business, which would enhance the capability of domestic economy actors to maximise the opportunities that FTAs offer.⁴⁷⁵ The Ministry believes that Indonesia has experienced a trade balance deficit, especially in the manufacturing sector, which needs to be addressed, but not through trade liberalisation. Thus, rather than expanding its FTAs with more countries, Indonesia needs to conduct a detailed evaluation of the implementation of the ongoing FTAs. The Ministry always invokes the notion of the

⁴⁷² Jones, "Explaining the Failure of the ASEAN Economic Community."

⁴⁷³ Indeed, besides KADIN, other domestic economic actors are leaning towards protectionisms such as the Alliance of Indonesian Farmers, the Indonesian Peasant Union, All-Indonesia Trade Union Confederation (KSPI), Federation of Indonesian Workers Struggle (FPBI). However, most of them have less intense lobby process in regard to regional integration projects. Moreover, due to the space constraints in writing for this thesis, this chapter focuses particularly on the role of KADIN.

⁴⁷⁴ Rüländ, "Why (Most) Indonesian Businesses Fear the ASEAN Economic Community."

⁴⁷⁵ Author's personal interview with official from the Ministry of Industry, Jakarta, 8 September 2017.

decline of Indonesia's national competitiveness due to the regional integration project. The previous Minister of Industry, MS Hidayat, argued that some industries in Indonesia are still less competitive than other ASEAN countries, such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore.⁴⁷⁶ Indeed, according to the World Economic Forum Index, in terms of competitiveness, Indonesia's position is far behind some other ASEAN member countries. Indonesia is in 34th place, well below Singapore in 2nd place, Malaysia in 20th place and Thailand in 31st place.⁴⁷⁷ Indonesia's low competitiveness leads to only a few business sectors excelling in the export market, including minerals, apparel, wood products, chemical products and non-electronic machines.

Moreover, the AEC is deemed unfavourable towards an Indonesian trade balance. By looking at the statistics regarding Indonesia's trade balance with all of the ASEAN countries, Indonesia experienced net imports from 2005 to 2016 in which the trade balance deficit tended to increase. In 2005, Indonesia's net imports to ASEAN amounted to only US\$ 1.2 billion, while in 2013 the net imports reached US\$ 13.21 billion. When Indonesia joined AFTA, its exports to ASEAN countries were only 10 percent of its total exports.⁴⁷⁸ In 2014, Indonesia's exports to ASEAN countries were only US\$ 39,6 billion, and accounted for only 22.5% of its total exports, while Indonesia's imports from ASEAN amounted to US\$ 50 billion, 28% of its total imports from all over the world.

Moreover, the performance of Indonesia's total exports, both oil and gas and non-oil/gas, in the period 2011 – 2016, decreased drastically from US\$ 203,495.6 million to about US\$ 144,433.5 million, down 29.02%. Meanwhile, in the same period, imports also decreased from US\$ 177,435.6 million to US\$ 135,650.7 million, down 23.5%. Based on data provided by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), in the period 2000 – 2015, Indonesia achieved a trade balance surplus with ASEAN only in 2004. After that, the trade balance deficit tended to widen from year to year.⁴⁷⁹ Of the nine ASEAN member countries, Indonesia's trade is only in surplus against the

⁴⁷⁶ Detik Finance, "MS Hidayat: Daya Saing Kita Bisa Dibawah Level 30," *Finance.Detik.Com*, September 12, 2010, <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/1439525/ms-hidayat-daya-saing-kita-bisa-dibawah-level-30>.

⁴⁷⁷ Mark Jones, "Which ASEAN Country Is the Most Competitive?," *World Economic Forum*, April 9, 2015, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/04/which-asean-country-is-the-most-competitive/>.

⁴⁷⁸ <http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/AWP%20No.%2021.pdf>

⁴⁷⁹ Data compiled from <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/IDN/Year/2003/TradeFlow/EXPIMP>

Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos. Indonesia's trade deficit in ASEAN has motivated domestic economic actors such as KADIN, labour and peasant unions, as well as the Ministry of Industry, to view free regional economic integration as an economic threat to many Indonesian domestic economic actors.

Table 6.6 Indonesia's trade statistics with ASEAN (in thousand)

Year	Export	Import	Net	ratio to world export	ratio to world export
2014	\$39,697,193.86	\$50,726,410.87	-\$11,029,217.01	22.55	28.47
2013	\$40,629,938.49	\$53,851,082.21	-\$13,221,143.72	22.26	28.85
2012	\$41,831,097.12	\$53,630,988.90	-\$11,799,891.78	22.01	27.98
2011	\$42,098,910.84	\$51,108,876.38	-\$9,009,965.54	20.69	28.80
2010	\$33,347,510.07	\$38,912,170.02	-\$5,564,659.95	21.14	28.68
2009	\$24,623,898.57	\$27,722,015.33	-\$3,098,116.76	21.13	28.63
2008	\$27,170,819.68	\$40,971,203.68	-\$13,800,384.00	19.83	31.70
2007	\$22,292,114.70	\$23,792,133.70	-\$1,500,019.00	19.54	31.95
2006	\$18,483,087.14	\$18,970,619.64	-\$487,532.50	18.34	31.07
2005	\$15,824,919.26	\$17,039,914.00	-\$1,214,994.74	18.47	29.74
2004	\$12,995,363.75	\$11,494,445.68	\$1,500,918.07	18.15	24.71

Source: World bank database,
<https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/IDN/Year/2003/TradeFlow/EXPIMP>

Given this condition, officials from the Ministry of Industry are convinced that Indonesia will not gain significantly from AFTA through Intra-ASEAN trade and hence is unlikely to gain a significant advantage through the AEC. This reasoning has been used by policymakers in the Ministry of Industry to resist Indonesia's further liberalisation project within the framework of the AEC. This has resulted in a delayed liberalisation process in Indonesia within the framework of the AEC. As shown by the

ASEAN scorecard, which compares the ASEAN Members, Indonesia's achievement in terms of liberalising its market is less than that of the other countries.⁴⁸⁰

The fragmentation of Indonesian foreign economic policymaking has affected the way in which its role conceptions are enacted. In the realm of trade governance, Indonesia's role as a regional leader has not been reflected in its policies and initiatives. However, as shown in the analysis of Indonesia's involvement in the AEC, the Yudhoyono administration tried to enact its role as a regional leader by keeping the regional integration project on track and not pulling out from it despite the contestation from domestic economic actors as well as within the state. Thus, on the one hand, Indonesia's willingness to enhance the regional integration project shows its minimum commitment to enact its role as a regional leader, given that without Indonesia's involvement as the largest country in ASEAN the project would collapse. On the other hand, the process of state transformation, in which the role conceptions it enacts are not coherently translated into regional trade policy, created an ambivalence with regard to Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader under Yudhoyono's administration.

Many analysts would argue that the AEC is failing due to the constraints from many of its members, particularly Indonesia, who are not ready to implement the liberalisation process in many areas of liberalisation.⁴⁸¹ However, the fact that, in general, Yudhoyono's administration enabled the regional integration to progress, shows that Indonesia is still willing to enhance the project. This ambiguity can best be explained through the framework of domestic-driven role conflict developed in Chapter 2.

Arguably, Indonesia's role enactment as a regional leader in regard to regional trade governance is in the second stage of role conflict. As suggested in Chapter 2, the second stage of role conflict refers to a condition in which roles are conceptualised and enacted by one agency while other agencies resist the enactment of such roles.

⁴⁸⁰ ASEAN, "ASEAN Economic Community Scorecard" (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2012), http://asean.org/?static_post=asean-economic-community-scorecard-3.

⁴⁸¹ Jones, "Explaining the Failure of the ASEAN Economic Community"; Jörn Dosch, "The ASEAN Economic Community: Deep Integration or Just Political Window Dressing?," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 5, no. 1 (January 2017): 25–47; Chandra, "Regional Economic Building Amidst Rising Protectionism and Economic Nationalism in ASEAN."

This has led to a vagueness in the conceptualisation of its roles. In our case, the enactment of the role of regional leader by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requires policies that are supportive of liberalisation. However, many technical ministries have issued protectionist policies, which contradict the role conception as a regional leader conceptualised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These protectionist policies show that the enactment of the role has not found its way into domestic policies due to contestation by other technical ministries.

Moreover, the notion of role legitimation introduced in Chapter 2 is particularly useful to understand the insistence of Indonesia in enhancing economic integration within ASEAN by framing it as a way to enact Indonesia's role as a regional leader within ASEAN. This framing is a part of the process of role legitimation in which policymakers try to invoke Indonesia's historical role as a regional leader. This strategy is deployed by foreign policy elites to legitimise Indonesia's position in liberalising its market within the framework of the ASEAN Economic Community. The continued success of the foreign policy elites in legitimising the role of regional leader by linking it to Indonesia's biographical narrative is illustrated in the acceptance of the role by other ministries. Many within the Ministry of Trade and Ministry of Industry perceive the AEC as a part of Indonesia's historical imperative to be the regional leader within ASEAN, which Indonesia needs to fulfil.⁴⁸² Although the deepening of regional integration projects by liberalising the Indonesian market is seen as detrimental, mainly by elites within the Ministry of Industry, they accept the project as a part of Indonesia's strategic interest. Thus, it is highly unlikely that Indonesia will abandon the AEC. As shown in the analysis above, the Ministry of Industry does not challenge Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader but rather articulates its contestation in regard to Indonesia's low competitiveness and the need to focus on a solution to increase it.

This legitimation strategy is likely to be maintained by the Widodo administration. So far, despite making the renegotiation of free trade agreements part of his economic agenda, Widodo has continued to respect the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) as well as continuing the negotiations initiated under his predecessor although many of these

⁴⁸² Author's personal interview with Director and expert staffs from Directorate of ASEAN negotiation, Ministry of Trade, 20 September 2016.

FTA's exclude sensitive products. In fact, Widodo's administration has even pursued a policy to complete the free trade agreement negotiations launched by Yudhoyono's presidency, as a response to doubts about the Widodo government's stance on the importance of free trade agreements.

Indonesia's roles in the RCEP

Indonesia's role enactment in the AEC mainly reflects its regional leadership, which aims to maintain the cohesiveness of ASEAN as a regional platform for Southeast Asian member countries. Indonesia's foreign policy establishment also aims to further enhance its regional leadership by making ASEAN a hub for East Asian regional architecture building. Within the realm of political and security issues, ASEAN has been the central actor in driving regional security arrangements in the region through platforms such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and East Asia Summit (EAS). In the realm of economic issues, it also aims to make ASEAN the institutional anchor of the Asia-Pacific regional economic architecture.

One such endeavour in the realm of trade governance aims to establish an ASEAN-driven mega-regional project that covers not only Southeast Asia but also a broader Asia-Pacific region through the initiation of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). The ASEAN-driven RCEP is a form of economic and trade cooperation between ASEAN and its six economic partners, namely, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand. The 16 participating countries are home to almost half of the world's population and account nearly for 30% of global GDP as well as more than a quarter of world exports.

Although many analysts treat RCEP as a China led mega-regional trade project due to the importance of it as a platform for China to consolidate its leadership role in the region,⁴⁸³ from the beginning, RCEP was initiated by ASEAN. In essence, the RCEP

⁴⁸³ Charles Bryant, "Can China Use RCEP to Capitalise on Trump?," Australian Institute of International Affairs, *Australian Outlook* (blog), February 27, 2017, <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/can-china-use-rcep-to-capitalise-on-trump/>; Laura Zhou and Liu Zhen, "Can China-Led Trade Pact Fill Void Left by US Withdrawal from TPP?," *South China Morning Post*, November 14, 2017,

is an effort by ASEAN countries to harmonise the different trade rules among their six trading partners. Before the inception of RCEP, ASEAN signed five Free Trade Agreements (FTAs): the ASEAN-China FTA, the ASEAN-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement, the ASEAN-Korea FTA, the ASEAN-Australia/New Zealand FTA, and the ASEAN-India FTA. RCEP was agreed at the 19th ASEAN Summit, in November 2011, through the ASEAN Framework for Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership. The launch of the RCEP negotiations took place from 18-20 November 2012 during the ASEAN Summit between ASEAN and six of its FTA partner countries, and was aimed to be completed in 2017. In May 2018, the ASEAN RCEP negotiations entered their 22nd round, and it does not seem that they will be concluded anytime soon.

Before the inception of the RCEP, the idea of establishing a broader mega-regional integration project had been proposed by many major powers in East Asia. In the past, Japan once proposed the establishment of the East Asian Community (EAC) through its policy initiative, The Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia (CEPEA). This proposal was not received very well, particularly in China. In fact, China has also proposed its own initiative, the East Asia Free Trade Agreement (EAFTA). However, the initiatives proposed by Japan and China, despite being highly significant for the development of cooperation in East Asia, have been met with a sceptical view by the ASEAN countries, particularly Indonesia. This is due to the fear that the initiatives could be a part of a strategy by the major powers in the region to influence the middle and small powers in Southeast Asia. To make sure that the driving seat for East Asia regionalism is still ASEAN, Indonesia brought the idea to create RCEP when it became the Chairman of ASEAN in 2011.

As stated by the Director General of International Trade within the Ministry of Trade, the idea to establish the RCEP can be attributed to Indonesia's initiative to consolidate five free trade agreements (FTA) involving ASEAN and its partner countries into one trade agreement area involving 16-member countries with a market of 3.4 billion

<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2119911/china-led-regional-trade-pact-tries-make-ground>.

people.⁴⁸⁴ The initiative was met with a positive response from both ASEAN members and other major powers in the region as well as ASEAN trade partners, such as Australia, New Zealand, China, India, Korea and Japan.⁴⁸⁵ As a result, ASEAN Ministers agreed to appoint Indonesia as the ASEAN coordinator to negotiate the RCEP with the other ASEAN trade partners. Indonesia was also appointed as Chairman of the RCEP negotiations.⁴⁸⁶ These positions certainly show the recognition of Indonesia's leadership in the ongoing negotiation process. Thus, for Indonesian trade policymakers, the RCEP is seen as the enactment of Indonesia's role of regional leader in ASEAN, which should be maintained.

The RCEP is expected to become the world's largest free trade bloc. The partnership will also serve as a stepping stone for the establishment of a free trade area in the Asia-Pacific region in 2020 under the Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP), which has been endorsed by the APEC countries.⁴⁸⁷ Given the importance of maintaining the balance of power in the Asia-Pacific region, the notion of ASEAN's centrality is considered necessary as a basis for developing the architecture of the Asia-Pacific region.

As a model of a mega free trade area, the RCEP is expected to regulate trade and investment liberalisation comprehensively and beyond the WTO regulation. Even with the resurrection of Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in the form of Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) agreed in November 2017, the encouragement to realise the RCEP into a trade bloc in the Asia-Pacific

⁴⁸⁴ Author's personal interview with Director General of International Trade, Ministry of Trade, 16 September 2016.

⁴⁸⁵ Terada Takashi, "Japan-ASEAN Partnership in an Era of Multiple Regional Integration Frameworks," in *Navigating Change: ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership in East Asia and in Global Governance*, ed. Rizal Sukma and Yoshihide Soeya (Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2015).

⁴⁸⁶ The Jakarta Post, "EDITORIAL: Mega Trade Partnership," *The Jakarta Post*, November 14, 2017, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/11/14/editorial-mega-trade-partnership.html>.

⁴⁸⁷ APEC, "Annex A - The Beijing Roadmap for APEC's Contribution to the Realization of the FTAAP" (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, 2014), https://www.apec.org/443/Meeting-Papers/Leaders-Declarations/2014/2014_aelm/2014_aelm_annexa.

region has been growing. In fact, with the signing of CPTPP, RCEP member countries reportedly aim to bring the negotiations to a conclusion in 2018.⁴⁸⁸

For Indonesia's domestic audience, the RCEP has been framed by the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an important endeavour that needs to be concluded to open up the market for Indonesian products. Fifteen RCEP member countries represent 56.2% of Indonesia's exports to the world and 70% of Indonesia's imports from the world. The RCEP members are also the source of 48.21% of foreign investments in Indonesia.⁴⁸⁹

Given that global trade negotiations seem not to be going anywhere due to the failure of the Doha Round, which tarnished the legitimacy of the WTO, regional free trade negotiations have become an alternative platform to enhance trade liberalisation.⁴⁹⁰ While the goal is to create a 'high-quality, modern, comprehensive and mutually beneficial free trade agreement', the RCEP opted for a more flexible deal.⁴⁹¹ Thus, the level of depth of the agreement made in the RCEP is somewhat different from CPTPP.

Given the pressure by other ministries, such as the Ministry of Industry, as well as other domestic economic interests to be more protectionist, the persistent efforts by the Indonesian foreign policy establishment as well as from Ministry of Trade to initiate the RCEP are not merely a product of economic imperatives. As revealed in interviews with high-ranking officials within the Ministry of Trade, despite the economic opportunity rhetoric, since the beginning the RCEP has been part of Indonesia's foreign policy agenda to pursue its geostrategic interest in East Asia. The geostrategic concern of Indonesia's foreign policy agenda in regard to trade is the

⁴⁸⁸ Japan Times, "Keep Pushing for Multilateral Free Trade Pacts," *The Japan Times*, July 4, 2018, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2018/07/04/editorials/keep-pushing-multilateral-free-trade-pacts/>.

⁴⁸⁹ Press Release Kementerian Perdagangan, "RCEP: Strengthening Indonesia's Position in the Regional Supply Chain" (Kementerian Perdagangan, September 8, 2016), <http://www.kemendag.go.id/files/pdf/2016/09/28/rcep-memperkuat-posisi-indonesia-dalam-mata-rantai-pasok-regional-en0-1475029728.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁰ Nuno Limão, "Are Preferential Trade Agreements with Non-Trade Objectives a Stumbling Block for Multilateral Liberalization?," *The Review of Economic Studies* 74, no. 3 (July 1, 2007): 821–55; Raquel Fernández and Jonathan Portes, "Returns to Regionalism: An Analysis of Nontraditional Gains from Regional Trade Agreements," *The World Bank Economic Review* 12, no. 2 (May 1, 1998): 197–220.

⁴⁹¹ Author's personal interview with Indonesia's negotiator in RCEP, Jakarta, 20 September 2016.

reason why, from the beginning, Indonesia was reluctant to join the now-defunct America-led TPP.

Many argue that this reluctance was due to the fact that Indonesia's exports to a number of advanced industrial countries incorporated in the TPP rely solely on the mining and energy sectors, whereas TPP countries export more manufactured products to Indonesia.⁴⁹² However, there are two main reasons for Indonesia not joining the TPP and instead initiating the RCEP. First, the TPP was an American-led trade project that aimed to get countries in the Asia-Pacific closer to the US while at the same time isolating China from the project. Second, ASEAN was never at the centre of the initiative and the US does not seem interested in promoting regional trade integration with ASEAN countries as a group, which is perceived by Indonesia as undermining ASEAN's centrality.⁴⁹³ It is therefore understandable that Indonesia chose the RCEP over the TPP. Indonesia's active involvement in the RCEP is a translation of its role as a regional leader, which put ASEAN at the centre of the multilateral regional trade agreement. On the contrary, Indonesia's involvement in the TPP would merely have been as a follower of the US-led regional architecture building.

Nevertheless, in practice, the objective of realising the RCEP is problematic due to the difficult positions within the RCEP negotiations that Indonesian trade negotiators face. As stated by a senior Indonesian negotiator, the difficulty in situating Indonesia's negotiating position lies in the three different interests and positions that the negotiators should enhance: first, Indonesia's domestic interests; second, Indonesia's position as a leader within ASEAN; and third, Indonesia's position as part of the ASEAN group. Given these three positions, rather than pushing the agenda of its domestic market, which leans towards protectionism, Indonesia's role in the negotiations tends to be as a bridging force to make sure that the RCEP negotiation can be concluded. The role of bridge-builder is manifested within two positions, namely Indonesia as a part of ASEAN and Indonesia as the representative of ASEAN

⁴⁹² Prashanth Parameswaran, "Between Aspiration and Reality: Indonesian Foreign Policy After the 2014 Elections," *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 153–65; Makmun Syadullah, "Impact of the Trans Pacific Partnership to Indonesia," *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues* 6, no. 4 (October 21, 2016): 1366–70.

⁴⁹³ Shujiro Urata, "Constructing and Multilateralizing the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: An Asian Perspective," ADBI Working Papers (Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, December 2, 2013), <https://www.adb.org/publications/constructing-and-multilateralizing-regional-comprehensive-economic-partnership-asian>.

towards other ASEAN partners within the RCEP negotiations. The former is enacted to provide cohesiveness and coherence within ASEAN while the latter is enacted to make sure that ASEAN can show its ability to deliver the mega-trade project and become the hub for it.

In order to enact its role of bridge-builder, Indonesia needs to offer more concessions that the domestic interests would more likely to resist. Given that the current ASEAN FTAs with partner countries have already eliminated over 80 percent of their tariffs, to make the RCEP attractive to other ASEAN partners, it needs to offer more concessions than the ASEAN plus one FTA has offered. As a minimum, the RCEP aims to eliminate 95% of tariffs. The main challenge, however, is the different tariff classifications for tariff concessions by ASEAN+6 countries, which need to be harmonised. This is due to the fact that ASEAN is not a customs union and does not have a common external tariff. To be able to bridge the different interests of the many ASEAN members, Indonesia should show that it is willing to open its market to be on a par with ASEAN members, in order to achieve common concessions that require all ASEAN member countries to have the same schedules. Currently, Indonesia's liberalisation status is still low compared with other ASEAN countries. Among the ASEAN countries, it is only Singapore that will have no issue in achieving a high-level region-wide FTA. Thus, to make a common concession for ASEAN, some ASEAN countries need to reduce the tariffs on many tariff lines. As revealed by one senior Indonesian negotiator on the RCEP:

If Indonesia's position is below the average position of liberalisation of other ASEAN members, it is a hassle. How can Indonesia bridge if that is the case? Sometimes we are in a tricky situation to do a positioning that represents Indonesia's domestic interests because on average they ask Indonesia to be in a very low position in terms of market liberalisation compare with the positions of ASEAN countries. Therefore, sometimes we like to be scolded by ministers if we cannot make our position clear which reflects the interests of domestic economic actors.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Author's personal interview with Director of Directorate of ASEAN Negotiation, Ministry of Trade, 20 September 2016.

Table 6.7 Distribution of tariff lines by liberalisation status in ASEAN

Country	% of 'Eliminated to All' Products	% of 'Depends on FTA' Products
Brunei Darussalam	84.1	15.9
Cambodia	64.3	35.3
Indonesia	46.0	52.8
Lao PDR	68.0	31.6
Malaysia	76.0	22.9
Myanmar	66.6	31.8
Philippines	74.6	24.4
Singapore	100.0	0.0
Thailand	75.6	24.3
Viet Nam	78.1	19.1
Average	73.3	25.8

Sources: Arata Kuno, "Constructing the Tariff Dataset for the ERIA FTA Database," in *Comprehensive Mapping of FTAs in ASEAN and East Asia*, ed. Chang Jae Lee and Misa Okabe, ERIA Research Project Report 2010, No. 26, n.d., 13–37.

Furthermore, in order to convince ASEAN partners that the RCEP can provide more high-quality free trade agreements than the ASEAN Plus One FTA can offer, the RCEP should eliminate the noodle bowl effects of the proliferation of free trade agreements in East Asia. One central issue in this regard is the Rules of origin (ROOs). While the ROOs ensure that FTA benefits are restricted to the parties to the agreement, they may also create constraints to trade flows, due to the adoption of different ROOs by different FTAs. There is a need for the RCEP to create a common rule for ROOs or to adopt lenient rules on cumulation. Rules on cumulation offer the possibility for products that have obtained originating status in one partner country to be further processed or added to products originating in another participating country as if they had originated in that latter country, without the finished product losing the benefit of

preferential customs tariffs.⁴⁹⁵ This has become one of the contentious items in the negotiations that so far the ASEAN countries cannot agree on.⁴⁹⁶

Although the RCEP was the platform for Yudhoyono's government to enact the role of regional leader, Indonesia's domestic political discourse is still heavily dominated by a protectionist approach and quite suspicious of the ongoing RCEP negotiations. Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader at the RCEP has thus invited increased domestic contestation. As a result, Indonesian policymakers, particularly in the Ministry of Trade and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, need to face the challenges on two fronts. First, Indonesia needs to perform its role as a bridge-builder to find a common goal that bridges the diverging interests within the ASEAN countries in order to manifest its role as a regional leader in the RCEP negotiations. Second, it also needs to deal with the growing domestic contestation towards its regional leadership role at the RCEP.

It is then again, the Ministry of Industry, that shows its tendency to keep Indonesia's liberalisation commitment low within the RCEP. The Director General of International Industrial Cooperation of the Ministry of Industry, Agus Tjahajana, has openly said that the Indonesian negotiators should be careful and wary regarding the target of the elimination of tariffs within the RCEP framework tariff.⁴⁹⁷ According to him, in regard to the manufacturing sector, Indonesia is not ready to open up its markets to industrialised countries like Japan, China, South Korea and India.⁴⁹⁸ In fact, while the Ministry of Trade and Ministry of Foreign Affairs have struggled to accelerate the RCEP negotiations, the Ministry of Industry has called for the possibility of renegotiation of the economic cooperation that is detrimental to Indonesia, especially the current FTAs, in particular the ACFTA, which deepens the Indonesia trade balance deficit.

However, despite the growing domestic contestation, particularly from the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Trade still considers the RCEP negotiations an Indonesian

⁴⁹⁵ Urata, "Constructing and Multilateralizing the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership"; Roughgate consulting, "Cumulation of Origin," 2018, <http://www.roughgate.com/free-trade/cumulation-of-origin/>.

⁴⁹⁶ Author's personal interview with Indonesian negotiator in RCEP, 20 September 2016.

⁴⁹⁸ Damiana Simanjuntak, "RCEP Rugikan Sektor Jasa Dan Manufaktur," *Investor Daily*, March 17, 2014, <http://id.beritasatu.com/home/rcep-rugikan-sektor-jasa-dan-manufaktur/80248>.

foreign trade diplomacy priority. Interviews with one of Indonesia's senior negotiators in the RCEP negotiation process revealed that Indonesia's role as a regional leader enacted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been internalised within the Ministry of Trade positioning in the trade negotiations. This affects Indonesia's negotiating position; often it should give up some of its domestic interests in favour of pushing the negotiation forwards. The way in which the negotiators legitimise Indonesia's trade position, which may not reflect Indonesian domestic business interests, is by invoking the historical position of Indonesia as a regional leader within ASEAN. Thus, Indonesia's historical narrative as a regional leader within Southeast Asia is a significant factor in driving Indonesia's assertiveness in taking a position that is in favour of enhancing ASEAN's role in the evolving regional economic architecture in Asia.

As stated in an interview with a senior Indonesian trade negotiator in the RCEP:

Actually, we were not ready to build a bigger regional architecture yet. At that time, we prefer to consolidate internally with ASEAN members who still have many problems with the efforts of economic integration. However, external pressure with the intensity of China and Japan to be the front guard in regionalisation in the region could make Southeast Asia just a sphere of influence. For that, we can convince other ASEAN Ministers to agree to initiate the RCEP initiative by inviting all ASEAN FTA partners to join in the formation of a regional mega block where ASEAN became its hub.⁴⁹⁹

However, unlike Indonesia's ambition to be a regional bridge-builder through political and security regional platform, the geopolitical ambition to keep ASEAN centrality through economic statecraft should take into consideration domestic contestation particularly if it is deemed too costly for domestic economic actor mainly from Small and Medium Enterprises. To avoid a further domestic contestation from business sector that usually invokes the condition of SMEs, Indonesia needs to secure the protection of Small and Medium Enterprises within the RCEP. The Indonesian delegation emphasised the importance of the agreement on protecting SME within the

⁴⁹⁹ Author's personal interview with Expert Staff from the Directorate of ASEAN negotiation, 20 September 2016.

framework of RCEP, which is the biggest economic actors in terms of the number in the Indonesian economy. Since the 7th Trade Negotiation Committee of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP-TNC), Indonesia stressed the importance of the role of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) to encourage regional economic growth. On the sidelines of the 7th TNC meeting, Indonesia proposed the concept of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME)-Friendly RCEP. RCEP should be designed to encourage SMEs engagement in regional and global supply chains. The inclusion of the ‘SME friendly’ concept was finally concluded at the 16th round of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiations. By doing so, the Indonesian delegation sought to provide an early guarantee that RCEP would include a provision that enables SMEs to benefit from market liberalisation.

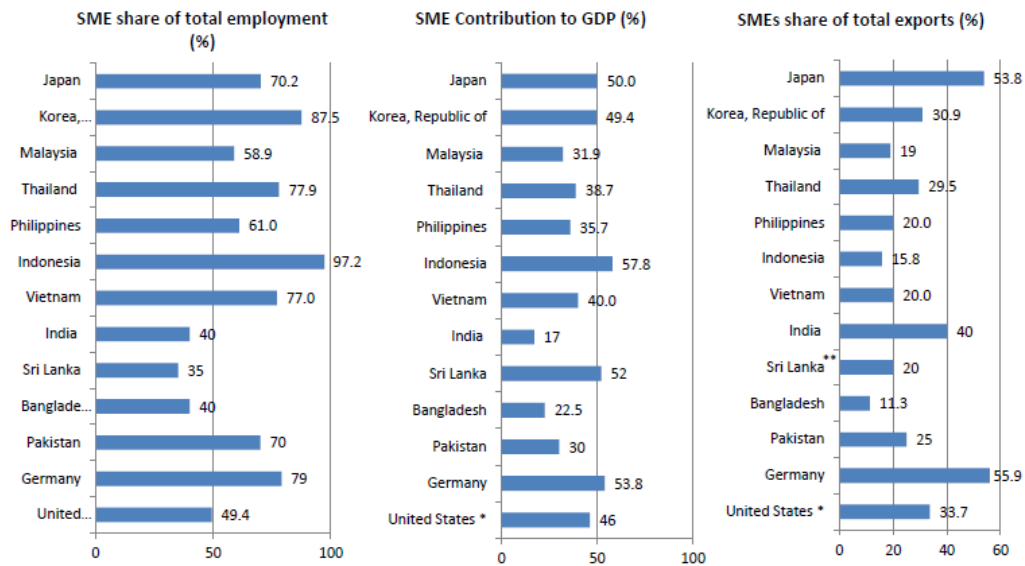
As argued by one member of Indonesia’s delegation:

More than 95% of local Indonesian business actors are SMEs. Therefore, we propose that the RCEP should further encourage SME involvement in regional and global supply chains through the SME-friendly concept. This includes the easing of import duties, customs procedures, standard harmonisation, financial access, and the provision of technical assistance for capacity building for SMEs to improve the quality of their products in utilising RCEP.⁵⁰⁰

Despite accounting for the largest share of total employment and making the most substantial contribution to the country’s GDP, Indonesian SMEs’ share of total exports is still low compared with other countries. Under the Indonesian leadership as the chair of the trade negotiating committee, progress has been made with the approval of the Chapter on Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and the Chapter on Economic and Technical Cooperation (ECOTECH). By concluding these two chapters on SME provision and the Chapter on Economic and Technical Cooperation (ECOTECH), Indonesia could appease its domestic economic actors while at the same time pushing forward the ongoing, tough RCEP negotiations.

⁵⁰⁰ Author’s personal interview with Director of Directorate of Multilateral Negotiations, Ministry of Trade, 16 September 2016.

Figure 6.3 SMEs in several economic indicators of selected countries



Source: World Bank database, <https://finances.worldbank.org/Other/MSME-Country-Indicators-2014/psn8-56xf/data>

Conclusion

This chapter points towards a number of findings that suggest how the emergence of state transformation, characterised by the increasingly fragmented nature of the Indonesian state, has affected the way Indonesia enacts its role conceptions in regard to regional trade governance.

This chapter elucidates Indonesia's effort to enact two main overarching roles, namely the role of regional leader and the role of bridge-builder, as part of its pursuit of regional and global recognition as an important global player. The role of regional leader is evident in Indonesia's initiative to maintain the regional integration project through ASEAN as well as to enhance ASEAN's centrality within the evolving regional economic architecture in East Asia. Moreover, the role of bridge-builder mainly appears in Indonesia's effort to project ASEAN as an institutional hub for the evolving regional economic architecture in East Asia.

However, as suggested by the analysis, Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader within ASEAN through the enhancement of the ASEAN Economic Community

has been hindered by the fragmentation of the Indonesian state. Its role as a bridge-builder is also contested domestically due to the need for Indonesia to making new trade concessions in order to enact the role. This is not to mention the fact that other ASEAN partners, particularly the developed ones, are also pushing for a more comprehensive free trade agreement to make sure that their engagement in the ASEAN-led RCEP is beneficial. As a result, Indonesia is struggling to conclude the RCEP negotiations promptly. Moreover, even if Indonesia can manage to conclude the RCEP, there is a possibility that the parliament will not ratify the agreement.

The theoretical contribution of this chapter is to demonstrate the extent to which the fragmentation of the Indonesian state has created an ambivalent enactment of the role conceptions envisioned by the foreign policy establishment. Given this condition, there are two inter-related factors that shape how Indonesia's state fragmentation could have affected the emergence of role conflict in Indonesia's role conception enactment within regional trade governance, namely normative and organisational factors.

First, there is a lack of normative acceptance of the underpinning norm of regional economic integration, namely the liberal economic norm. This is precisely reflected in how the invocation of Indonesia's role in advocating the liberalisation agenda has been heavily contested by domestic actors, including particular agencies within the state. In order to resolve this contestation, the actor within the state, in this case the Ministry of Trade, seeks to legitimise the role by linking Indonesia's growing technocratic acceptance towards the economic integration agenda to its effort to maintain Indonesia's role as a regional leader.

In the political realm, Indonesia's role as an advocate of democratic and human rights norms is in line with its democratic transition following the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime. However, the notion of the neoliberal economic agenda has been increasingly contested within Indonesia's domestic audiences in the post-authoritarian period. The norm is yet a part of Indonesia's economic worldview, which should be accepted by the political elites as well as domestic economic actors. This is due to the fact that the neoliberal agenda could not be framed as a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative as a developing country. In fact, there is growing resistance towards the neoliberal agenda including the regional integration project. In addition, since the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime, neoliberal reform has often been

seen as a foreign intervention towards Indonesia's economy. Accordingly, enacting the role as an advocate of regional economic integration does not fit with Indonesia's biographical narrative. For this reason, Indonesia's greater engagement in enhancing regional economic integration is not attributed to Indonesia's biographical narrative in the way that the foreign policy establishment successfully attributes Indonesia's role as a regional leader in regard to political and security issues to its biographical narrative. Thus, it is difficult for policymakers to sustain the enactment of the role of regional leader through advocating trade liberalisation in the realm of regional trade governance.

Second, there is a lack of organisational coordination among the ministries, which stems from the fragmentation within the Indonesian state, which made the role conceptions enacted by Yudhoyono's administration vague in regard to trade governance. In the economic realm, in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not the focal point, the enactment of its role conception is not as straightforward as in the realm of democracy and human rights. The trade policies taken by other ministries may not be in line with the role conception enacted by foreign policymakers. This has created an outcome where there is a rhetoric-performance gap between the commitment made at the international level and the policy taken at the domestic level. As a result, Indonesia's role as a regional leader in the realm of trade governance has been severely hindered.

Having examined the enactment of Indonesia's role conception in regard to regional trade governance, the next chapter will examine the different dynamics of Indonesia's enactment of its role conceptions in regard to global trade governance, particularly in the WTO Doha Development Agenda round of negotiations.

Chapter 7

Inter-agential conflict: Indonesia's role in global trade governance

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I showed how the state transformation process has constrained Indonesia's role enactment as a regional leader in enhancing regional economic integration projects in Southeast Asia. It has also hindered its enactment of the role of bridge-builder in making ASEAN an institutional hub for the evolving regional economic architecture in East Asia. This chapter examines Indonesia's increasingly assertive engagement in global trade governance through its role in the WTO Doha Development Agenda (DDA) round. While, at the level of regional trade governance, Indonesia seems to have been prevented from taking the role of regional leader and bridge-builder, Indonesia seems to enjoy relatively little hindrance in enacting the role conceptions it aspires to at the global level. Why is this the case?

In order to examine this puzzle, this chapter contends that multilateral trade governance, particularly the DDA round of negotiations, has been utilised by Indonesian foreign policymakers as an arena for Indonesia to play a greater role at the global level. To do so, Indonesia has enacted two main overarching roles, namely the role of a *voice for developing countries* and the role of *bridge-builder*. Through the role of a voice for developing countries, Indonesia is not only able to fulfil its biographical narrative but also enhances its domestic interests through consistent efforts to fight for the inclusion of concepts such as Special Product (SP) and Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM) in the DDA negotiations. These two are directly related to the Indonesian government's domestic efforts to alleviate poverty, develop rural areas, and strengthen food security. The role of bridge-builder stems from the opportunity to enhance Indonesia's international status by capturing the opportunity to fill the role to bridge the increasingly different standpoints of developing countries and developed countries in the negotiations.

Indonesia's leadership role as the coordinator of the G33, a defensive alliance of developing countries in the agricultural sector, which was enacted after the collapse

of the DDA negotiations in Cancún, illustrates its enactment of the role as a voice for developing countries. Indonesia's bridge-builder role can be seen from its substantial initiatives and diplomacy in the breakthrough, albeit limited outcome of the ninth WTO Ministerial Conference in Bali in 2013.

Despite Indonesia's increasing role enactment as a bridge-builder, which requires it to also support the liberalisation agenda at the global level, there has been a growing tendency towards protectionism in its trade policy in the aftermath of the global financial crisis in 2008. Rather than reflecting the domestic policy preferences, international expectations towards Indonesia are more likely to drive the enactment of Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder in the DDA negotiations. At this point, the commitments made as well as the rhetoric calling for a more liberalised multilateral trading system within the negotiation by Indonesia are not in line with its domestic trade policies.

The reason for the gap between its role conceptions and domestic policies can be interpreted as a result of the co-optation of trade policy in the WTO by the Indonesian foreign policy agenda. While the Ministry of Trade has full authority to formulate its trade negotiation position, Indonesia's role conception as a bridge-builder, enacted by its foreign policymakers, has significantly influenced its trade policy agenda and negotiating position in the DDA round.

To facilitate the argument, the chapter firstly conceptualises global trade governance as an arena for role-playing. It examines how the multilateral negotiation within the WTO is seen as an arena, not only to enhance emerging powers' agenda and interests, but also for states to project their role conceptions based on the alter expectations that they can fulfil. The third section discusses the co-optation of trade policy by the foreign policy agenda. It examines how the ambivalence between Indonesia's protectionist trade policy vis-à-vis its foreign policy outlook has led to incongruence in its enactment of its role conceptions in regard to global trade governance. The fourth and fifth sections provide a detailed account of how Indonesia has exercised its role in the G33 coalition within the Doha Development Round since 2003 and its increasing role as a bridge-builder since the collapse of the Doha Round negotiations in 2008. This chapter concludes with an overall assessment of how the case of Indonesia in the DDA negotiations enhances the literature on role theory in International Relations.

The Doha round negotiations as an arena for role enactment

The WTO, and its predecessor the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), has traditionally been seen as an arena for states to negotiate and implement trade rules. Given the nature of the decision-making process, which requires political bargaining, the WTO has become an arena for both Western countries and developing countries to exercise their power and resources. While previously developing countries were economically too weak to challenge Western hegemony in terms of global trade governance, with the rise of the so-called emerging powers, twenty-first century global trade governance can be characterised as more multipolar. Non-Western emerging middle powers are increasingly utilising global governance institutions as a site to challenge the Western hegemony over developing countries.

Indeed, many studies have established that the WTO has been utilised as a platform by developing countries to challenge US dominance in regard to global trade governance.⁵⁰¹ As noted by several scholars, in their negotiation strategies, emerging developing countries such as India, Brazil, and South Africa tended to contribute to the deadlock of the WTO negotiations in the Doha development round due to their redistributive aspirations.⁵⁰²

The study of the coalition building of developing countries in the DDA negotiation also shows that power politics has shaped the strategy as well as the objectives of developing countries.⁵⁰³ For instance, by employing a constructivist reading of the

⁵⁰¹ Robert Hunter Wade, "What Strategies Are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of 'Development Space,'" *Review of International Political Economy* 10, no. 4 (November 1, 2003): 621–44; Kym Anderson and Will Martin, "Agricultural Trade Reform and the Doha Development Agenda," *World Economy* 28, no. 9 (September 1, 2005): 1301–27.

⁵⁰² Matthew D. Stephen, "Rising Regional Powers and International Institutions: The Foreign Policy Orientations of India, Brazil and South Africa," *Global Society* 26, no. 3 (July 1, 2012): 289–309; Charalampos Efstathiopoulos, *Middle Powers in World Trade Diplomacy*, Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁵⁰³ Amrita Narlikar and Diana Tussie, "The G20 at the Cancun Ministerial: Developing Countries and Their Evolving Coalitions in the WTO," *The World Economy* 27, no. 7 (July 1, 2004): 947–66; Andrew Hurrell and Amrita Narlikar, "A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations," *Global Society* 20, no. 4 (October 1, 2006): 415–33; Peter Drahos, "When the Weak Bargain with the Strong: Negotiations in the World Trade Organization," *International Negotiation* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 79–109.

Philippines' behaviour in the WTO, Quinsaat shows that the coalition building strategy among developing countries is the result of social learning and adaptation by trade negotiators within their interactions with other developing countries as well as developed ones.⁵⁰⁴ She further argues that given that the domestic structure may not pose heavy constraints to trade negotiators, power politics in the WTO, rather than interest based on a long-term programme formulated by states, is the main driver for developing countries' coalition-building strategy.⁵⁰⁵

Hopewell further asserts that the greater role of developing countries in the WTO is not merely a result of increased material power resulting in their changing structural position.⁵⁰⁶ In her study on Brazil, China, and India, Hopewell argues that the rise of Brazil and India's leadership is not the result of their economic structural conditions as an emerging economic powerhouse. Rather, it can be attributed to their diplomatic efforts in mobilising coalitions amongst developing countries primarily through the G20⁵⁰⁷ group, which has an offensive agenda in the agricultural sector.⁵⁰⁸ Through their diplomatic strategies, Brazil and India have created major challenges for developed countries seeking dominating roles in terms of agenda setting within the WTO. However, their strategies have also created a stark divide between developing and developed countries. The politics of confrontation culminated in the collapse of the negotiations at the Cancún Ministerial Conference, in which developing countries seemed to be unified in resisting the developed countries' position.⁵⁰⁹

Eagleton-Pierce provides a more critical approach towards the WTO by employing the Bourdieusian concept of symbolic power. He shows how the countries from the Global South tried to challenge the power imbalance within the DDA negotiations by mobilising symbolic power, namely providing heterodox opinions about a legitimate vision of the social world that challenged the orthodox liberalisation agenda of the

⁵⁰⁴ Sharon Madriaga Quinsaat, "The Philippines Waltzes with the Big Boys: Coalition-Building Strategy in the WTO," *Asian Survey* 52, no. 5 (2012): 970–94.

⁵⁰⁵ Quinsaat.

⁵⁰⁶ Hopewell, "Different Paths to Power: The Rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization."

⁵⁰⁷ G20 here refers to offensive coalition of agricultural exporters in the DDA negotiation.

⁵⁰⁸ See also Amrita Narlikar, *International Trade and Developing Countries: Bargaining Coalitions in the GATT & WTO* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁵⁰⁹ Andrew Hurrell and Amrita Narlikar, "A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations," *Global Society* 20, no. 4 (2006).

developed countries.⁵¹⁰ Hence, other than employing their institutional power by creating a coalition-building, developing countries from the Global South also use another source of power, which might not be based on material and institutional power.

Given the discussion above, the growing number of studies of how emerging powers behave in the multilateral setting, particularly in the DDA round, are usually situated within debates on developing countries' struggle to challenge developed countries' dominance in global trade rule-making. While developing countries wanted to make the DDA round not merely an instrument of multilateral liberalisation, but also of development, developed countries viewed the round as a way to improve their market access to developing countries.⁵¹¹ Arguably, treating the WTO as an arena for developing countries to challenge Western hegemony only shows a partial picture of the emerging powers' behaviour in the WTO.

In this thesis, the DDA negotiation process is treated not solely as an arena for developing countries to challenge Western hegemony; it is also treated as an arena for states to articulate their role conceptions, which are enacted by foreign policymakers to enhance their international status. Treating the DDA round as a venue for the articulation of role conceptions can help us to understand the seemingly ambivalent and inconsistent nature of states' behaviour in international negotiations. In particular, we can understand why sometimes emerging powers enact a role that aims to challenge developed countries, while at other times they enact a role that aims to build bridges.

This thesis is not the first attempt to apply role theoretical approach in understanding states' behaviour in the WTO. Through the case of the EU's roles, Ahnliid and Elgström employed a role theory approach to understand how the changing power constellation in regard to trade governance with the rise of the emerging powers and the relative decline of the US and the EU has created role uncertainty, which has forced the EU to change its role conception from a leader and a benign partner to developing countries to a more realist approach.⁵¹² However, their reading of role theory is still

⁵¹⁰ Matthew Eagleton-Pierce, *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵¹¹ Valbona Muzaka and Matthew Louis Bishop, "Doha Stalemate: The End of Trade Multilateralism?," *Review of International Studies* 41, no. 2 (April 2015): 383–406.

⁵¹² Anders Ahnliid and Ole Elgström, "Challenging the European Union: The Rising Powers and the USA in the Doha Round," *Contemporary Politics* 20, no. 1 (2014).

structural, in that roles changes are seen as the product of structural changes in power constellations.

To further the discussion, this chapter aims to show that changes in the international system should also take into account a broader understanding of role dynamics happening within states. One of the aspects that is unexplored in the study of emerging powers' behaviour in global governance is how the WTO can be treated as an arena for the convergence and conflict between foreign policy and trade policy. The case of Indonesia's role in the multilateral trade negotiations is a case in point, in that the role conception articulated in the DDA round was a result of negotiation and co-optation of trade policy by Indonesian foreign policy agenda, which affected Indonesia's position in the Doha round negotiations.

Moreover, by treating the WTO as an arena to articulate role conceptions, the interaction within the WTO is not merely about a struggle to enhance particular domestic interests in multilateral rule-making as suggested by the mainstream literature on the WTO. Nor is the interaction solely understood as a power struggle between the developed and developing countries. Instead, the DDA negotiation process was an arena in which states aimed to enact particular roles that could be associated with their biographical narrative and their efforts to incorporate alter expectations. Rethinking the WTO in such role-theoretical terms provides us with an alternative understanding of how the emerging middle powers changed the enactment of their roles at the DDA negotiations in the WTO.

Having discussed how the DDA negotiation process within the WTO can be seen as an arena for enacting role conceptions, the next section will examine how the trade policy under the authority of the Ministry of Trade has been co-opted as an instrument to operationalise the role conceptions developed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The co-optation of trade policy and Indonesia's foreign policy agenda

To what extent is Indonesia's trade policy at the global level shaped by the role conceptions articulated by foreign policymakers? This chapter reveals that under

Yudhoyono's Presidency, Indonesia's international trade policy at the global level was shaped by its aspiration to play a greater role at the global level. This is evident in Indonesia's behaviour in the DDA Round, which started in 2001.

As argued in the previous chapter, the democratisation undergone by Indonesia since the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998 has had significant repercussions for the decision-making process regarding Indonesia's trade policy. This also applies to Indonesia's standpoint and negotiating position in multilateral trade governance, such as at the WTO. Under Suharto's authoritarian regime, the decision to negotiate in the WTO was more homogeneous, centralised and top-down; the president played an important role in the making of the final decisions.⁵¹³ At that time, Indonesia, as a developing country, could be seen as a strong advocate of liberalism in the multilateral trading system due to its proposal for a very low tariff line for many products. The decision regarding trade liberalisation came directly from the President and Indonesia's position in the negotiations was coordinated by the Ministry of State for Economic Coordination.

After the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime, from 1999 to 2003, which can be considered an early stage of the post-authoritarian era, in practice, Indonesia did not take a leading role in the negotiations at the WTO. Under Yudhoyono's leadership, Indonesia's involvement in the WTO was designated as one of the main venues that needed to be developed in pursuit of Indonesia's status as a middle power. For the first time in the post-authoritarian period, the administration created Indonesia's trade diplomacy strategy, which was elaborated in the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) from 2005 to 2025 under Law 17 of 2007 as well as in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). The incorporation shows the importance of the coherence and alignment of Indonesia's trade interests with its diplomacy. Yudhoyono's Trade Minister from 2004-2011, Mari Elka Pangestu, articulated the concept of a 'multi-tracks trade strategy', which sought to make Indonesia play a greater role at the bilateral, regional, and global levels.⁵¹⁴ In the RPJPN as well as the

⁵¹³ Bird, Hill, and Cuthbertson, "Making Trade Policy in a New Democracy after a Deep Crisis."

⁵¹⁴ "Laporan Akuntabilitas Kinerja Kementerian Perdagangan Tahun 2010 [Performance Accountability Report of the Ministry of Trade in 2010]" (Bureau of Planning, Secretariat General, Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011), <http://www.kemendag.go.id/files/pdf/2012/12/06/lakip-2010-id0-1354798811.pdf>.

RPJMN, Yudhoyono's government initially emphasised the urgency for trade diplomacy in the WTO because of the belief by officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it was through active involvement in the multilateral trading system that Indonesia could achieve its international status other than expanding the market for Indonesian goods.

However, officials within the Ministry of Trade are more sceptical regarding the importance of the WTO in enhancing the Indonesian foreign trade agenda in opening up the overseas market for Indonesian products. This is because negotiating an agreement at the WTO takes a long time and many countries have opted for an FTA bilaterally and regionally. Moreover, as already argued in the previous chapter, given the importance of ASEAN due to Indonesia's aspiring role as a regional leader, many of the FTAs that Indonesia has signed and ratified have put ASEAN at the centre. By doing so, ASEAN can be internally strong and become a hub for East Asia's regional economic architecture building. Given this condition, the WTO has been seen as a second priority within Indonesia's foreign trade agenda at the Ministry of Trade. As revealed by interviews with Indonesian officials from the Ministry of Trade, the proliferation of regional free trade agreements, as well as the stalemate in the Doha Round, means that the WTO has been neglected by many Indonesian economic policymakers and legislators, who increasingly focus on regional free trade agreements.⁵¹⁵

Furthermore, many policymakers at the Ministry of Trade, particularly in the Directorate of Multilateral Negotiations, felt that under Yudhoyono, the implementation of WTO rules that informed the legislation process of national regulations and policies was at the lowest point.⁵¹⁶ There are many domestic economic regulations related to the field of trade that are not in the spirit of the WTO agreements as references in policy formulation.⁵¹⁷ For instance, in 2012, the Ministry of Trade issued the Regulation of the Minister of Trade (Permendag) Number 60/2012 on Provisions on the Import of Horticultural Products. This regulation restricted the sale of imported beef only for restaurants and hotels, and not in traditional markets or

⁵¹⁵ Author's personal interview with former Indonesian trade attaché to Canada, 12 September 2016.

⁵¹⁶ Author's personal interview with Director of Multilateral Negotiations, the Ministry of Trade, 11 September 2016.

⁵¹⁷ Please refers to Table 6.5 for the list of the regulations.

supermarkets. Trading partner countries consider this import policy as distorting and protecting the domestic market and hence a violation of the WTO Agreement on Import Licensing Procedures.

Thus, as suggested in the previous chapter, a prominent feature of trade diplomacy in the post-authoritarian era is that trade policy at home and Indonesia's trade rhetoric are not coherent and consistent. During Yudhoyono's first administration, initially trade policies often emerged that were inconsistent with policies made by other agencies outside of the Ministry of Trade. In the second half of Yudhoyono's administration, the Ministry of Trade itself contributed and participated in ignoring the WTO rules. The leading cause of this was the growing sentiment of nationalism, which led to the WTO being increasingly perceived as part of an external force that threatened Indonesia's economic sovereignty.⁵¹⁸

Nevertheless, despite the WTO rules being neglected in the making of trade policy by related technical ministries, Indonesia's active involvement in the DDA round significantly increased. Given the fragmented situation within the domain of the trade policy-making process, Indonesia's negotiating position, which was supposed to reflect its trade policy agenda, became co-opted by the foreign policy agenda. Thus, Indonesia's position in the multilateral negotiations was driven more by foreign policy objectives than based on Indonesia's trade agenda. This stemmed from a growing desire in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to utilise trade governance as a platform to project its foreign policy agenda.⁵¹⁹

From a reading of Indonesia's official documents on its standpoint in the Doha Round negotiations as well as interviews with both foreign and trade policymakers, this chapter reveals two main overarching roles that Indonesia wanted to enact within the WTO Doha round negotiations, namely a voice for developing countries and bridge-builder. Indeed, as explained in Chapter 3, the role of a developing country has become

⁵¹⁸ Dewi Nurul Musjtari, "Dampak Liberalisasi Perdagangan dalam WTO Agreement terhadap Ketahanan Pangan Indonesia," *Kanun : Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 16, no. 2 (August 1, 2014): 221–46, <https://doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v16i2.6028>.

⁵¹⁹ Author's personal discussion with official from Directorate of Trade, Industry, Investment and Intellectual Property Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 July 2015.

Indonesia's historical role, and the role of bridge-builder is a role conception that is strategically crafted given Indonesia's unique position in the international system.

Indonesia's growing role enactment as a voice for developing countries was also the result of the push for an anti-neoliberal agenda, resulting in a greater call for protectionism mainly in the agricultural sector. This role has been articulated since the Cancún Ministerial Conference in which Indonesia became the coordinator for the G33 developing country alliance.

Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder is strategically enacted to fulfil expectations from the international audience given Indonesia's significant position within the global economy. The role of bridge-builder has been increasingly visible since the collapse of the Doha round negotiation in 2008 and Indonesia's admission to the G20 group in 2008.

There are two main reasons why in the realm of multilateral trade negotiations, such as the Doha Round negotiation, the role conception developed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is more dominant in influencing Indonesia's trade position. First, in the Uruguay Round, Indonesia successfully negotiated its commitment to schedules on concessions on goods set out by the article XXI of the GATS in accordance with the level of liberalisation that was accepted by domestic economic sectors. Consequently, Indonesia's commitment to the WTO agreement is secure enough, even with a scenario in which Indonesia remained in the position of the status quo in the Doha Round. Under the existing agreement, Indonesia has bound 96.6% of its tariff lines at a rate of 40%. However, this agreement does not apply to Indonesia's agricultural sector, where tariffs on more than 1,300 products have bindings at 47.7%.⁵²⁰ Although it has a high bound tariff, the average rate applied is below 7%; currently it is 6.8%, lower than most ASEAN countries. Thus, Indonesia does not have to fight as hard as other developing countries in tariff reduction negotiations.

Moreover, Indonesia does not have to be as tough as Brazil in undertaking offensive strategies for agricultural products since an average tariff rate of 40% is a relatively safe level for Indonesia and is, in fact, rarely utilised. This gives greater flexibility for

⁵²⁰ Julia Tijaja and Mohammad Faisal, "Industrial Policy in Indonesia: A Global Value Chain Perspective," ADB Economics Working Paper Series (Manila: Asia Development Bank, 2014).

Indonesia to use tariffs as a main trade policy instrument. In addition, the existing agreements, in particular, the Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) does not interfere with domestic interests as it accommodates the provisions of national legislation. Given this condition, there was greater space for Indonesia's foreign policy establishment to mobilise the DDA as an arena to play a greater role in its pursuit of status.

Secondly, the formulation of Indonesia's positioning is highly dependent on the style of leadership and insight and is influenced by the figure of the Minister of Trade. It rarely happens that bureaucrats fill the post of the minister. The ministers of trade in the *reformasi* era were mostly academics and business practitioners whose insights were relatively limited regarding the politics of bureaucracy in the ministries. Nevertheless, the ministers of trade who were academics, such as Mari Elka Pangestu (2004 – 2011), had a relatively transparent, predictable and understandable vision regarding Indonesia's position as a developing country. Through her role in positioning Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries, she was considered a respected figure within the WTO community. Conversely, ministers who were business practitioners, such as Gita Wirjawan (2011 – 2014), tended to ignore the positioning of Indonesia as a developing country but somewhat being socialised into the positioning of Indonesia as an emerging power.⁵²¹ This was particularly true after the inclusion of Indonesia in the G20, which requires Indonesia to show that its role is in line with its new international status. With a Minister who shares the same agenda in pursuing Indonesia's international status, it is easier to co-opt the foreign policy agenda into the domain of the Ministry of Trade as a focal point for the enactment of Indonesia's role conception within trade governance.

Having discussed how the foreign policy agenda could co-opt the international trade agenda, particularly in a multilateral forum such as the WTO, the next section will discuss how Indonesia's struggle for the agricultural sector has been framed as a way for Indonesia to enhance its role as a voice for developing countries.

⁵²¹ Author's personal interview with officials from the Ministry of Trade, 05 September 2017.

Struggle for agriculture and the role as a voice for developing countries

In regard to its outlook towards trade liberalisation, Indonesia domestic trade policy in the post-authoritarian era can be summed up as an increased fear of liberalisation, which makes protectionism appealing within Indonesia's domestic environment. As suggested in Chapter 3, in the early phase of democratisation from 1999 – 2004, many domestic political actors were increasingly suspicious of global economic institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO.⁵²² This was a direct impact of the economic crisis and the subsequent ramifications of the IMF conditionality, which required the liberalisation of Indonesia's economy. Under the IMF conditionality, the Indonesian government was required to minimise the role of states in many economic sectors ranging from banking to agriculture.

In the agricultural sector, starting in 1999, several neoliberal reforms were put in place, such as allowing the market mechanism to determine rice prices, permitting huge rice imports, and cutting rice subsidies.⁵²³ Given that the majority of the Indonesian population are heavily reliant on the agricultural sector, the limited role of the state in the sector has negatively affected many rural and poor Indonesians. As a result of the structural reform imposed by the IMF, from 1999 to 2004, food-related product imports increased rapidly. During this period, Indonesia's import dependency ratio increased by twice as much as in 1998. For example, the ratio for rice reached 10%, for corn 20%, for soybeans 55% and for sugar 50%. In the same period, these four commodities were consumed by 23 million, 9 million, 2.5 million, and 1 million households respectively, or 68 % of the total of 52 million households in Indonesia.⁵²⁴

Policymakers within the Ministry of Agriculture viewed Indonesia's increasing reliance on food imports as not only a result of the IMF conditionality but also of broader inequality within the multilateral trade system that favoured the developed

⁵²² Edward Aspinall, "The New Nationalism in Indonesia," *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2016): 72–82, <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.111>.

⁵²³ WTO Secretariat, "Trade Policy Review, Indonesia" (Trade Policy Review Body, WTO, May 28, 2003), 6, https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/FE_Search/ExportFile.aspx?Id=82607&filename=Q/WT/TPR/S117-0.pdf.

⁵²⁴ Direktorat Pangan dan Pertanian, "Profil Pangan Dan Pertanian Indonesia 2003-2006" (Jakarta: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2006), <https://www.bappenas.go.id/files/5713/5229/9214/2-profil.pdf>.

countries.⁵²⁵ Low food prices in the world market do not reflect the level of efficiency, but rather a distortion by the support provided by developed countries, primarily export subsidies and other domestic support to their farmers.⁵²⁶ This market distortion has slowed the pace of development in developing countries. In addition, it also has a negative impact on food security and rural development, and hampers efforts to eradicate poverty in developing countries.

Although several administrations during the early phase of democratisation focused more on domestic issues, especially in ensuring political stability, under the Megawati Presidency, Indonesia gradually sought to play a more significant role in voicing antagonism towards the WTO regulation, which was perceived as unfair. In 2001, during the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference at Doha, WTO member states agreed to launch the next round of negotiations, known as the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) Round. The negotiations covered about 20 areas of trade including agriculture. Given that half of Indonesia's population are somehow related to the agricultural sector, this sector became the primary concern for Indonesia during the DDA round.

The DDA round provided a new arena to improve the trading prospects of developing countries given that the development aspect was at the heart of the round. The launch of the DDA provided the newly democratic Indonesia, which was undergoing structural reform, an opportunity to voice its concerns, as well as causing frustration regarding the neoliberal agenda imposed during the first five years of the Indonesian transition towards democracy.⁵²⁷ The DDA also provided a new arena for Indonesia to conceptualise its role conception as a voice for developing countries, which was relatively neglected during the last decade of Suharto's authoritarian regime, which focused on enacting the role of advocate of development.

One of the most challenging negotiation items within the DDA round was trade in agriculture. Even though globally, the agricultural sector has a relatively small share of trade, accounting for only 4% of total global exports, the sector became a

⁵²⁵ Author's personal interview with officials from the Ministry of Agriculture, 09 September 2017.

⁵²⁶ M. Husein Sawit, "Indonesia dalam Tatanan perubahan Perdagangan Beras Dunia," *JURNAL PANGAN* 15, no. 2 (July 1, 2006), <http://www.jurnalpangan.com/index.php/pangan/article/view/291>.

⁵²⁷ Hadi Soesastro and M. Chatib Basri, "The Political Economy of Trade Policy in Indonesia," *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 22, no. 1 (2005): 3–18.

battleground between developing and developed countries in the DDA negotiations. This was due to the perceived unfairness in the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) within the framework of the Uruguay Round, which became one of the founding agreements of the WTO.⁵²⁸ The AoA aimed to reform trade in the agricultural sector and make policies more market-oriented, fair, and predictable. The rules and commitments stipulated in the AoA covered three pillars, namely (1) Market access (2) domestic support, and (3) export competition.⁵²⁹

To further boost its growing role conception as a voice for developing countries, Indonesia has continued to participate actively in various negotiations on agriculture at the WTO. This is evident in Indonesia being a Coordinator for the group of developing countries incorporated in the G33, which consists of 47 countries.⁵³⁰ The idea to establish the G33 was developed during Indonesia's preparations for the fifth WTO Ministerial Conference in 2003, Cancún, Mexico. In March 2003, six months prior to the Ministerial Conference, Indonesia set up a proposal for a specific modality with the title: 'Specific Modalities Inputs on Strategic Products: Non-Paper by Indonesia'.⁵³¹

The draft mainly contained Indonesia's idea to follow up on the failed concept of a development box proposed by Pakistan. The development box was envisioned as provisions that would only apply to developing countries and would consist of broad flexibilities rather than specific prescribed policies targeting low-income farmers lacking resources, and secure supplies of staple foods. However, this proposal never gained traction in the DDA negotiations. Indonesia's proposal for specific modalities on strategic products was discussed with fellow developing countries in Geneva. The draft was finally accepted as a developing countries' proposal regarding strategic

⁵²⁸ Carmen G. Gonzalez, "Institutionalizing Inequality: The WTO Agreement on Agriculture, Food Security, and Developing Countries Symposium: Trade, Sustainability and Global Governance," *Columbia Journal of Environmental Law* 27 (2002): 433–90.

⁵²⁹ Jennifer Clapp, "WTO Agriculture Negotiations: Implications for the Global South," *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (May 1, 2006): 563–77, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590600720728>.

⁵³⁰ At the beginning, the alliance consisted of 33 members hence the name of the group. However, it grows to include 47 developing countries.

⁵³¹ M. Husein Sawit, "Indonesia Dalam Perjanjian Pertanian WTO: Proposal Harbinson," *Analisis Kebijakan Pertanian* 1, no. 1 (2003): 42–53.

products.⁵³² The proposal was sponsored by Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, India, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Nigeria, Turkey, Peru, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Venezuela. It was the Philippines that initially called for the formation of the Alliance for Special Products and Special Safeguard Mechanism during the WTO special session of the Committee on Agriculture on 18 July 2003. On 9 September 2003, the coalition was established in Jakarta, Indonesia and became known as G33, given that the initial coalition consisted of 33 countries.⁵³³

The G33 has the strategic objective of ensuring that the issues of food security, rural livelihood, and rural development become an integral part of the agriculture negotiation. Furthermore, the Group's goal is also to promote the notion of Special and Differential Treatment through the concepts of Special Products (SP) and a Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM). These two concepts should be embodied within the modalities of the WTO agriculture negotiations for all developing countries.

SP can be defined as specific agricultural products that receive special treatment in regard to the obligation around tariff cuts.⁵³⁴ In essence, the category of SPs aims to protect and strengthen food production in developing countries, particularly basic staple foods, in order to provide food security, encourage the acceleration of rural development, and accelerate the alleviation of poverty and hunger. The Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM) is aimed at protecting national farmers from the flooding of imported products. The concept of protection in the SSM is formulated as additional tariffs imposed on agricultural products to counter a surge in imports that negatively affects national farmers.⁵³⁵ The ideas for the SP and SSM were developed in accordance with the special and differential treatment (SDT) provisions, by which developing countries have special rights within the WTO rules.⁵³⁶

⁵³² Later on, the notion of Strategic Products was replaced with Special Product in order to avoid confusion caused by the word strategic that can refer to military-related issues.

⁵³³ Paul Mably, "Centralized Production: The Group of 33," in *The Politics of Trade: The Role of Research in Trade Policy and Negotiation*, ed. Diane Tussie (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 239–70.

⁵³⁴ Alan Matthews, "The Road from Doha to Hong Kong in the WTO Agricultural Negotiations: A Developing Country Perspective," *European Review of Agricultural Economics* 32, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 561–74.

⁵³⁵ J. Michael Finger, "A Special Safeguard Mechanism for Agricultural Imports: What Experience with Other GATT/WTO Safeguards Tells Us about What Might Work," *World Trade Review* 9, no. 2 (April 2010): 289–318.

⁵³⁶ Bernard Hoekman, "Operationalizing the Concept of Policy Space in the WTO: Beyond Special and Differential Treatment," *Journal of International Economic Law* 8, no. 2 (June 1, 2005): 405–24.

Although Yudhoyono's presidency aimed to be seen as pro-economic openness and integration as well as sympathetic towards the liberalisation agenda, it continued to hold Indonesia's defensive position within the negotiation regarding the agricultural section given its leadership of G33. Thus, Indonesia's efforts to bring these two concepts to the negotiation table were increasingly embedded in Indonesia's standpoint in the Doha round. Since then, through the G33, Indonesia has always voiced the interests of developing and the least developed countries, which are heavily reliant on agriculture.

In April 2005, Indonesia held a commemorative Asian-African Summit, which became the official symbol for Yudhoyono's administration to enact Indonesia's historical role as a voice for developing countries. A G33 Ministers' informal breakfast meeting was held during the summit. To follow up the informal ministerial meeting, an official G33 Ministerial Meeting was held in June 2005 to discuss the G33's coordination, strategy, and position in the sixth WTO Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong, China in December 2005.⁵³⁷ It could be argued that under Yudhoyono's presidency, its position within the G33 was strategically framed as Indonesia's effort to enact its historical role as a voice for developing countries. In this case, Indonesia's defensive position through G33 within the Doha round negotiation could have been utilised as part of its foreign policy agenda to be a global player.

By June 2005, 42 countries, including China, had joined the High-level G33 Ministerial Meeting in Jakarta, growing from thirty-three since its inception at the Cancun ministerial meeting. Currently, the G33 is composed of 46 developing countries and least developed countries. Considering the vast membership of the G33 coalition, ranging from underdeveloped countries to emerging powers, as well as its extensive geographic coverage, ranging from countries in Latin America and the Asia Pacific, it is not surprising that the G33 acquired enormous legitimacy in the WTO as a platform to voice developing countries' interests in the DDA negotiation.⁵³⁸ However, given its size as well as the diverse interests of its members, it is difficult to

⁵³⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Indonesia Will Host the G-33 Ministerial Meeting" (Jakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, June 9, 2005), <https://www.kemlu.go.id/en/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Indonesia-will-host-the-G-33-Ministerial-Meeting.aspx>.

⁵³⁸ Eagleton-Pierce, *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization*.

maintain the cohesion of the different interests within the coalition. Indonesia, as the coordinator of the G33, tends to give priority to the cohesion of the coalition given the constantly changing strategic environment in the multilateral forum. To maintain its internal cohesion, the G33's broad agenda relies heavily on normative claims regarding the importance of food security for developing countries.

Table 7.1 Enlargement of G33 membership

Year	Member
2003 Alliance for Special Product and Special Safeguard Mechanism	Barbados, Botswana, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Mongolia, Mauritius, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Venezuela, Zambia, and Zimbabwe
2016 G33	Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, China, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Korea, Republic of, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Chinese Taipei, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Source: WTO website,
https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/negotiating_groups_maps_e.htm?group_selected=GRP017

Even though Indonesia is the coordinator of the G33 coalition, it by no means always acts as a leader within the alliance. In fact, countries like the Philippines, India, China, Cuba, Turkey, and Venezuela are also among the most active members in voicing their concerns on behalf of the group.⁵³⁹ As the coordinator, Indonesia has been preoccupied with maintaining the cohesion of the coalition. Internally, given the diversity of its membership, each member has its own standpoint and flexibility. For instance, some developing countries want the criteria for SP to be as abstract as possible given the difficulty for developing countries to be able to determine the criteria and indicators for any products that can be put into the SP scheme. This is due to the lack of government capacity in developing countries to have full data concerning their agricultural products. After the failure of the WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancún in 2003, at the sixth WTO Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong 2005, Indonesia, through the G33, succeeded in incorporating the SP and SSM concepts into the Ministerial Declaration.⁵⁴⁰

Despite being the coordinator for the defensive coalition of developing countries in the agricultural sector, Indonesia is also a part of the Cairns Group, a coalition of agricultural exporters from developed and developing countries, which was conceived during the GATT negotiation on agriculture.⁵⁴¹ Indonesia was an original member of the Cairns group when it was founded in 1986. Indonesia's membership of the Cairns group stems from its position as an exporter of agricultural products. Its membership of the group also shows Indonesia's greater support for liberalisation under the Suharto authoritarian regime in the 1980s.

With Indonesia's increasingly defensive position in the agricultural sector and its role as coordinator of G33, in the post-authoritarian era, Indonesia's membership of the Cairns Group gave it a unique position within the DDA Round of negotiations. This

⁵³⁹ Rorden Wilkinson, "The WTO in Hong Kong: What It Really Means for the Doha Development Agenda," *New Political Economy* 11, no. 2 (June 1, 2006): 291–304.

⁵⁴⁰ Matthews, "The Road from Doha to Hong Kong in the WTO Agricultural Negotiations"; Faizel Ismail, "An Assessment of the WTO Doha Round July–December 2008 Collapse," *World Trade Review* 8, no. 4 (October 2009): 579–605.

⁵⁴¹ Richard A. Higgott and Andrew Fenton Cooper, "Middle Power Leadership and Coalition Building: Australia, the Cairns Group, and the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations," *International Organization* 44, no. 4 (1990): 589–632.

is because, within the DDA round, the Cairns Group had the objective of opening up and liberalising the market of agricultural products, which contrasted with the defensive nature of the G33 alliance.

Indonesia's membership of these two seemingly contradictory negotiating groups is a consequence of the structure of its agricultural trade performance. On the one hand, there are an increasing number of imported products that dominate the Indonesian domestic market, especially rice and soybeans, where domestic producers cannot meet the domestic demand. On the other hand, Indonesia still has the potential to increase its exports of agricultural commodities such as palm oil, coffee, rubber and cocoa. Djunari Inggit, then Director of Multilateral Negotiation within the Ministry of Trade, confirmed that the Indonesian government's positions in the trade negotiations at the WTO reflect two essential interests, despite being contradictory to each other.⁵⁴²

As one of the world's leading exporters of tropical agricultural products, Indonesia does not want significant trade barrier for its products in the global market. Until 2014, although Indonesia's trade balance was in deficit, especially in the agriculture sector, a surplus could still be made, mainly through the export of plantation products such as palm oil.⁵⁴³ Disruption of the export of agricultural products due to increased global protectionism would worsen Indonesia's trade balance. Given this state of affairs, Indonesia, along with other developing countries, insisted on flexibility in the trade liberalisation programme at the DDA negotiation meeting in Hong Kong in mid-December 2005. As stated by the then Minister of Trade Mari Elka Pangestu, responding to Indonesia's primary mission at the WTO, 'basically, what we are fighting for in the WTO is how we can get and fight for the interests of Indonesia and developing countries in a balanced way in this negotiation'.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² Poppy S. Winanti et al., "The Future of Doha Round: Optimalisasi Diplomasi Ekonomi Indonesia Dalam Kerangka WTO," *Practices in Trade and Indonesian Encounters* (Jogjakarta: Pusat Studi Perdagangan Dunia, 2013).

⁵⁴³ Trade Data and Information Center, "Total Balance of Trade of Indonesia" (Jakarta: Ministry of Trade, Republic of Indonesia, 2017), <http://www.kemendag.go.id/en/economic-profile/indonesia-export-import/indonesia-trade-balance>.

⁵⁴⁴ Merdeka.com, "Indonesia Ngotot Perjuangkan Fleksibilitas Liberalisme Perdagangan Di WTO," *Merdeka.Com*, December 8, 2005, <https://www.merdeka.com/uang/indonesia-ngotot-perjuangkan-fleksibilitas-liberalisme-perdagangan-di-wto-l0fbyoa.html>.

Balancing its defensive strategy and the impetus to push the export of its agricultural products has been an underlying factor for Indonesia's membership of the Cairns group. However, many officials within the trade policy establishment argue that Indonesia's membership of the Cairns Group was not in line with its interest in the Doha round negotiations.⁵⁴⁵ Some argue that during the negotiations, the group never accommodated the interests of Indonesia, even complicating the position of Indonesia in the fight to defend the interests of farmers. The Cairns group, according to an Indonesian trade negotiator, is often pitting the developing countries against one another in order to prevent them from cooperating with one another.⁵⁴⁶ Most of the group's positions and proposals were sponsored by a small number of developed countries in the Cairns Group, namely Australia and New Zealand. Interviews with trade negotiators reveal that prior to Cancún, there was a feeling that Indonesia had mistakenly aligned itself with members of Cairns Group that were predominantly agricultural net-exporter countries.⁵⁴⁷ One negotiator even said that this coalition is very undemocratic.⁵⁴⁸ Almost all of the proposals and position papers were made on the initiative of Australia. The proposals were rarely discussed in a great length with other member states.⁵⁴⁹

Despite this condition, Indonesian policymakers seemed to continue the dualism of Indonesia's position within the Doha Round negotiation. Under Yudhoyono, Indonesia's membership of the Cairns Group was maintained as a part of its growing bridge-builder role, in which Indonesia wanted to show its position not only as part of a defensive coalition of developing countries, but also as part of the liberalising force within the DDA negotiation. Thus, it could be argued that its membership of the Cairns Group is driven more by its foreign policy objectives. In fact, its membership of these seemingly contradictory coalition groups has been framed as a strategy for Indonesia to be a bridge-builder in the Doha Round negotiations. Indonesia's membership of both the G33 and the Cairns Group has been mobilised to support its considerable effort to play the role of bridge-builder in the WTO. Indonesia's aspiring role as a bridge-

⁵⁴⁵ FGD with civil servant in Directorate of Multilateral, the Ministry of Trade, 25 August 2016.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.,

⁵⁴⁷ Author's personal interview with official from the Directorate of Multilateral Negotiations, 22 September 2016.

⁵⁴⁸ Author's personal interview with former negotiator from in the Directorate of Multilateral Negotiations, 22 September 2016.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.,

builder can be further seen in the second collapse of the DDA negotiations in 2008 which the next section will discuss.

The return of protectionism and Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder

Since the collapse of the negotiations in Cancún in 2003 and later in Geneva in 2008, the growing division between developing countries, especially India and Brazil, and developed countries, especially the US and the EU, has hindered the progress of the Doha round.⁵⁵⁰ This tension has made a global consensus on this recent new round of multilateral trade increasingly difficult to materialise. Many commentators cite the issue of SP and SSM as the main factor that led to the collapse of the negotiation in 2008.⁵⁵¹ This was due to the unwillingness of the developed countries to reduce domestic support to their agricultural sector, and at the same time, the G33 continued to fight for the inclusion of the framework of SP and SSM.⁵⁵²

While the collapse of the DDA negotiation at the Cancún Ministerial Conference in 2003 gave birth to the G33, which was eventually utilised as a platform for Indonesia to enact the role of a voice for developing countries, the collapse of the July 2008 package negotiation at the Geneva Ministerial Conference provided Indonesia with momentum to enact its role as a bridge-builder. Given the crisis of multilateralism reflected in the deadlock of the DDA round, President Yudhoyono, along with Indonesian foreign policymakers, saw an opportunity to fill the gap of a voice for the developing countries that could bridge the stark divide within the negotiation.

Domestically, Indonesia's growing confidence in enacting the role of bridge-builder stems from its economic resilience during the 2007 – 2008 global financial crisis, which hit many economies. Moreover, Indonesia, alongside India and China, are

⁵⁵⁰ James Scott and Rorden Wilkinson, "What Happened to Doha in Geneva?," *The European Journal of Development Research* 22, no. 2 (April 1, 2010): 141–53, <https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2010.6>.

⁵⁵¹ Davies, "The Perils of Incoherence"; Ismail, "An Assessment of the WTO Doha Round July–December 2008 Collapse."

⁵⁵² Eagleton-Pierce, *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization*.

among the few countries that experienced growth of more than 6% despite the crisis.⁵⁵³ Indonesia's economic growth was the result of stable domestic consumption.⁵⁵⁴ In the same year, Indonesia was invited to join the G20, which has been upgraded from Ministerial level to Head of State level, which transformed it into a premier forum for global economic cooperation. Given these conditions, the foreign policy establishment tends to see Indonesia as an emerging middle power and is willing to take a greater role at the global level. Furthermore, Indonesia has been seen by the international community, especially Western powers such as the US and the EU, as a reliable partner from the developing countries that are supporting the liberal world order. As revealed by the interviews with Indonesia's top negotiators in the WTO, the international expectation that Indonesia would play a greater global role indeed shaped Indonesia's position as a bridge-builder in the DDA round negotiations.⁵⁵⁵

Although, since its inception in 2003, the G33 has been considered an instrument for Indonesia to play a greater role as a voice for developing countries, albeit in a defensive way, since 2008, Indonesia has also increasingly utilised the G33 as a platform to enact the role of bridge-builder. Within G33, Indonesia aims to provide a more reasonable, doable, and readable position for the G33 to be presented at committees, general consultations, or special sessions. Indonesia has always tried to defuse the tough stance of some G33 member states that have an extreme position. In other words, Indonesia aims to redirect the G33 to find a middle ground.

Given its bridge-building and defensive nature, the US and the EU seem to have given more sympathy to G33 interests rather than the G20 coalition in the WTO. This is because while the G20 emphasised both commercial and non-commercial goals (developmental), the G33 mostly emphasised non-commercial objectives in the agricultural negotiations.⁵⁵⁶ As put by an Indonesian negotiator, while the G33's defensive position is more directed to protecting the poor farmers from developing

⁵⁵³ Muhammad Chatib Basri and Sjamsu Rahardja, "The Indonesian Economy amidst the Global Crisis: Good Policy and Good Luck," *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (December 22, 2010): 77–97.

⁵⁵⁴ Tulus T. H. Tambunan, "The Indonesian Experience with Two Big Economic Crises," *Modern Economy* 01, no. 03 (November 19, 2010): 156, <https://doi.org/10.4236/me.2010.13018>.

⁵⁵⁵ Author's personal interview with General Director of International Trade, the Ministry of Trade, 05 September 2016.

⁵⁵⁶ Eagleton-Pierce, *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization*.

countries, the G20's offensive stance will disproportionately benefit big developing countries like Brazil, India, and China.⁵⁵⁷

Indonesia's increasing enactment of the role of bridge-builder in the Doha round negotiations since the second term of Yudhoyono presidency was puzzling when we take into account Indonesia's trade policies. During the first term of the Yudhoyono administration, Indonesia's trade policy could be characterised as more free-market oriented and inclined towards trade liberalisation. This is evident from several trade policies, such as the easing of the import licence system, which allows a lot of imported goods to easily dominate Indonesia's domestic market. However, unlike in the first term, during the second term of the Yudhoyono administration, Indonesia's trade policies tended to be more inclined towards protectionism, especially in the agricultural and mining sectors.⁵⁵⁸ This protectionist tendency was likely to be a direct result of the efforts to mitigate the financial crisis that hit the world.⁵⁵⁹

As suggested in the previous chapter, in the second half of Yudhoyono's presidency, many protectionist measures were put in place. Chief among all of these were Law 13/2010 on Horticulture, Law 18/2012 on Food, Law 19/2013 on the Protection and Empowerment of Farmers, Law 3/2014 on Industry, and Law 7/2014 on Trade. The overall law mandates the government to conduct measures to protect agriculture and mining through a package of tariffs and quotas.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Industry have added new products to the list of products that require import and export licences. Besides, the Ministry of Trade also re-issued the import licensing rules on a number of products and issued rules on more stringent controls on the distribution of imported goods. This made the share of tariff lines subject to non-tariff measures (NTMs) on imports grow from 37% in 2009 to 51% in 2015.⁵⁶⁰ The number of NTMs for exports also increased

⁵⁵⁷ Author's personal interview with former Indonesian trade attaché in Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa, 05 September 2016.

⁵⁵⁸ Eve Warburton, "Resource Nationalism in Indonesia: Ownership Structures and Sectoral Variation in Mining and Palm Oil," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 17, no. 3 (November 2017): 285–312.

⁵⁵⁹ Arianto Patunru and Sjamsu Rahardja, "Trade Protectionism in Indonesia: Bad Times and Bad Policy," Analysis (Lowy Institute for International Policy, July 2015), <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/trade-protectionism-indonesia-bad-times-and-bad-policy>.

⁵⁶⁰ Munadi, "Indonesia's Non-Tariff Measures: An Overview."

three-fold during the same period and affected 41% of the export value. Since 2009, Indonesia has implemented 31 non-tariff measures compared with 16 in India, one in Brazil and nine in China.⁵⁶¹

Despite the protectionist tendency in its trade policy, within the DDA Round negotiations, Indonesia became increasingly vocal in voicing its concern for the WTO members to conclude the negotiations. Indonesia seemingly used a pro-liberalisation rhetoric and voiced its concerns about the rise of protectionism around the world. To further enact the role of bridge-builder, Indonesia intensified its involvement in forums initiated by the developed countries. In 2008, Indonesia hosted the 33rd meeting of the Cairns Group Ministerial Meeting (CGMM) in Bali.⁵⁶² Indonesia also attended the Informal Ministerial Meeting in Paris, as well as the Summit of G8 + G5 in L'Aquila, at which the Indonesian government endorsed the need to push the Doha Round to be concluded.⁵⁶³

This dualism shows the inter-role conflict between Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries, which culminated in its leadership role in the defensive coalition of the G33, and its aspiring role as a bridge-builder, which requires Indonesia to push for a more liberalised multilateral trade system. Moreover, the dualism also shows the domestic audience-driven role conflict, in which its aspiration to be a bridge-builder, influenced by its foreign policy agenda, was not in line with the increasing domestic trade policy, which favoured protectionism.

Although Indonesia's aspiring role as a bridge-builder has created increasing role conflict with its stance as a proponent of the G33 and its domestic regulations, it continues to enact a such role. To substantiate its role conception as a bridge-builder, in 2012, Indonesia offered to host the ninth WTO Ministerial Conference. It was perceived by policymakers that this event would further boost Indonesia's credibility as an emerging power. As stated by a former Indonesian trade minister, Gita

⁵⁶¹ Data from <http://www.globaltradealert.org/site-statistics>

⁵⁶² "CAIRNS Groups' Goal to Revive WTO Negotiations: Groundless - Via Campesina," *Via Campesina English* (blog), June 6, 2009, <https://viacampesina.org/en/cairns-groups-goal-to-revive-wto-negotiations-groundless/>.

⁵⁶³ G8 Joint Statement, "L'Aquila Summit: Promoting the Global Recovery" (Official Italian G8 website, July 9, 2009), <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2009laquila/2009-g5-g8.html>.

Wirjawan, given its increasingly significant role in global governance, Indonesia should exercise its influence at the global level and take a more significant role to reflect its position at the global level.⁵⁶⁴ Through hosting the Conference, Yudhoyono's government indicated a desire to bridge the two major poles between developed countries and developing countries that had led to the DDA negotiations stalling. Hence, after the WTO General Council finally agreed that the next ministerial conference would be held in Bali, Indonesia's trade diplomacy objective was to secure an 'early harvest' of deliverables from the DDA Round.

In several negotiations leading up to the Bali ministerial conference, Indonesia tended to position itself as an emerging middle power that could be an honest broker within the WTO. In a small meeting of Trade Ministers at a side event of the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos in late January 2013, the Indonesian Trade Minister, Gita Wirjawan, asserted that at the ninth WTO Ministerial Conference, Indonesia would fight to restore confidence in the multilateral trading system through the small but credible package to be agreed.⁵⁶⁵ Indonesia would support at least three agenda items to be achieved in the ministerial conference in Bali, namely trade facilities, packages for less developed countries, and the issue of public stock holding.

For the Yudhoyono administration, the ninth Ministerial Conference in Bali can be interpreted as a diplomatic stage on which Indonesia wished to play the role of bridge-builder. Given its protectionism policy back home, it would have been easier for Indonesia to defend itself from liberalisation by taking a stance against the liberalisation agenda. On the contrary, Indonesia pushed for the completion of the DDA Round even though this meant that it would have to give more concessions. Indonesia's position was directed towards making sure that an agreement was made in Bali, albeit minuscule. The small agreement at the Ministerial Conference in Bali was framed by the Indonesian government as a historic meeting that enhanced the legitimacy of the Doha round.

⁵⁶⁴ Author's personal interview with former Indonesian Trade Minister, Jakarta, 16 September 2016.

⁵⁶⁵ A Lin Neumann and Rizki Washarti, "The WTO in Bali: What to Expect Exclusive Interview with Trade Ministry DG Iman Pambagyo," *Strategic Review*, November 29, 2013, <http://www.sr-indonesia.com/web-exclusives/view/the-wto-in-bali-what-to-expect>.

At the ninth Ministerial Conference held in Bali, finally, the WTO member countries approved the Bali Package after tough negotiations. The agreed Bali Package comprised ten points and included issues on trade facilitation, resolving agricultural disputes, and discussions on issues affecting least-developed countries. This success was historical for the WTO, given that for the first time since the organisation began on 1 January 1995, an agreement had been reached.⁵⁶⁶ The agreement in Bali was seen as a significant small positive step for the multilateral trading system, which had recently begun to be eroded by the bilateral and regional cooperation initiatives undertaken by countries.

As revealed by one Indonesian negotiator, Indonesia's position in pushing forward the Bali Package came from President Yudhoyono.⁵⁶⁷ The success of the Bali Package then can be related to Indonesia's effort to play the role of bridge-builder. During the negotiations, to ensure that the outcome of the Bali Ministerial Conference was agreed, Indonesia even opposed India's position on public stockholding as a permanent solution instead of an interim one, despite its national interest regarding public stockholding being similar to India's due to the countries having the same domestic structural constraints, in which the majority of Indonesia's population are heavily reliant on agriculture.

Other than India, during the Ministerial Conference, some countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, Bolivia and Venezuela showed an opposing standpoint towards the Bali Package, particularly on Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA).⁵⁶⁸ They viewed the developed countries as benefiting from the absence of rules regarding the limitation of discrimination in the form of the embargo on transit goods. Their objection caused difficulty in reaching a consensus. As expressed by the Minister of Trade, Gita Wirjawan, to reach a consensus, the Indonesian delegation had to carry out personal lobbying with Latin American countries, especially Cuba. President Yudhoyono was also personally involved in lobbying the Heads of State of each country as well

⁵⁶⁶ Rorden Wilkinson, Erin Hannah, and James Scott, "The Wto in Bali: What Mc9 Means for the Doha Development Agenda and Why It Matters," *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 6 (July 3, 2014): 1032–50.

⁵⁶⁷ Author's personal interview with Director General of International Trade, the Ministry of Trade, Jakarta, 16 September 2016.

⁵⁶⁸ Kanaga Raja, "WTO Conference Closes after Adopting Bali Package," *TWN: Third World Network*, February 2014.

lobbying their Western counterparts, mainly the US.⁵⁶⁹ Finally, a compromise was reached in the form of a sentence that upheld the principle of non-discrimination for transit goods being added to the Bali Package. This principle was essential for some countries like Cuba and Venezuela, where at the time of the agreement were on the US embargo list that could disrupt their trade with other countries.

Through the approval of the TFA, trade facilitation is expected to improve the efficiency of trade and customs procedures, resulting in reduced trade costs and facilitating small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to enter the global supply chain. Indonesia's view on the approval of the TFA is that it will also have a positive effect on the business and trade climate in facilitating Indonesian exports.⁵⁷⁰

Indonesia's seemingly inconsistent behaviour between its increasingly protectionist trade policies and the role it takes at the WTO can only be explained through the role-playing approach. Through the lens of role theoretical approach, Indonesia's negotiation standpoint at the WTO is primarily driven by an effort to fulfil international expectations rather than reflecting its growing protectionist trade policies. As stated by one official from the Ministry of Trade, the Ministerial Conference in Bali was not about Indonesia's national interest but more about Indonesia's performance in pursuing the status of a global player, namely through the role of bridge-builder.⁵⁷¹ As a result, the Ministerial Conference became a critical 'diplomatic stage' where Indonesia could mobilise its role as a bridge-builder to pursue the status of an emerging middle power while seemingly overlooking its growing protectionist trade policies.

Indonesia's aspiring role as a bridge builder, however, is problematic. Not only should it balance its role as a voice for developing countries *vis-à-vis* its aspiring role as a bridge-builder, it also needs to maintain the coherence of its role conception as a bridge-builder, which requires it to engage with the rhetoric of enhancing the multilateral trade system, *vis-à-vis* its growing protectionism at home. This can be

⁵⁶⁹ Author's personal interview with former Indonesian Trade Minister, Jakarta, 16 September 2016.

⁵⁷⁰ Author's personal interview with former Indonesian Minister of Trade, Jakarta, 16 September 2016.

⁵⁷¹ Author's personal interview with officials from Directorate of Multilateral Negotiations, the Ministry of Trade, 15 September 2016.

seen in the aftermath of the ninth Ministerial Conference, in which Indonesia was one of the slowest states to ratify the TFA. Two years later at the next Ministerial Conference, only sixty-three of the WTO members had ratified the Trade Facilitation Agreement. Indonesia was not one of them, despite being the proponent of the TFA. Indonesia finally ratified it on 5 December 2017 under President Joko Widodo.⁵⁷²

Moreover, although the Ministerial Conference in Bali agreed with the interim solution on the public stockholding, the permanent solution was not resolved for almost a year after the Ministerial Conference.⁵⁷³ The G33, of which Indonesia is the coordinator, still reiterated their pre-Bali position for a permanent solution by suggesting the moving of public stockholding programmes into the Green Box, allowing these programmes to be seen as domestic support that does not distort trade.⁵⁷⁴ Many developed countries rejected this permanent solution.⁵⁷⁵ The lack of progress achieved after the Bali Package agreement led some developed countries, particularly the EU and Japan, to call for a new round of negotiations that would replace the DDA round.

Given the discussion above, arguably Indonesia's enactment of the role of bridge-builder is in the third stage of role conflict. As suggested in chapter 2, the third stage of role conflict refers to a condition in which the contestation among state agencies has been won by one agency, but the enactment of such a role is not substantiated through policies under the authority of other agencies. This has created an outcome where there is a rhetoric-performance gap between the commitment made at the international level and the policy taken at the domestic level.

⁵⁷² Stefani Ribka, "Indonesian Lawmakers Agree to Ratify WTO's TFA," *The Jakarta Post*, October 23, 2017, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/10/23/indonesian-lawmakers-agree-ratify-wto-s-tfa.html>.

⁵⁷³ Agriculture Negotiations: Fact Sheet, "The Bali Decision on Stockholding for Food Security in Developing Countries" (Geneva: WTO, November 27, 2014), https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/agric_e/factsheet_agng_e.htm.

⁵⁷⁴ Agriculture Negotiations: Fact Sheet.

⁵⁷⁵ D Ravi Kanth, "US-EU Block Permanent Solution for Food Security Public Stockholding," *South-North Development Monitor*, June 29, 2015, <http://www.twn.my/title2/susagri/2015/sa404.htm>.

Conclusion

This chapter has established that the DDA round can be seen as an arena for role-playing in which international expectations pushed the state to enact role conceptions that may not have been in line with its domestic economic interests. The first section elaborated and situated the role theoretical reading within the broader literature on the role of emerging powers in the WTO. Arguably, treating the WTO as an arena for role-playing provides a more nuanced understanding of the puzzling case of emerging middle powers' behaviour at the global level *vis-à-vis* their domestic trade policies. Moreover, the second section of the chapter also provided a detailed exploration how the co-optation of the trade policy by the foreign policy agenda led to greater flexibility for the foreign policy establishment to assert its role conceptions in an arena where the focal point to enact such a role was in the hands of the Ministry of Trade. This co-optation became the pre-condition for role-playing at the Doha round negotiations to be conducted.

The last two sections of the chapter showed how Indonesia's roles as a voice for developing countries and a bridge-builder were enacted within the DDA round negotiations. Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries was translated into its leading role in enhancing the defensive agenda of the G33 as a coalition of developing countries at the WTO. Although at the beginning, the impetus for Indonesia to establish the coalition was a response from Megawati's administration towards a perceived unfair neoliberal reform after the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime, Indonesia's leadership of the G33 was framed and mobilised by Yudhoyono's administration as a continuation of its historical role as a voice for developing countries. Moreover, the chapter showed how Indonesia's growing active role as a bridge-builder stemmed from its treatment of the DDA round as a diplomatic theatre in which it could play a role.

While in regard to regional trade governance, Indonesia's aim to play a greater role at the global level through the roles of regional leader and bridge-builder has been hindered by domestic contestation as well as the fragmented nature of the Indonesian state, at the global level the same contestations have been missing. Thus, unlike at the regional level, Indonesia's role conceptions, conceptualised by the foreign policy establishment, have been enacted without significant domestic contestation.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

We live in an era where the international system is shaped by the active participation of non-Western middle powers. Students of International Relations need to understand what factors and aspects shape their behaviour. For example, how do international audiences shape their role conceptions? Are domestic audiences as powerful in determining a state's international behaviour? To what extent are historical experiences linked to the articulation of role conceptions? Can our Westphalian assumption of a unitary state, which is widely embraced in the IR field, be sustained in analyses of non-Western emerging middle powers? And how can we make sense of –what seems at first glance to be contradictory– state behaviour in different areas of the regional and global order? Answering these questions by investigating emerging middle powers' behaviour at the regional and global levels can shed light on the dynamics of international order and what kinds of interactions we can observe.

Indeed, the behaviour of these non-Western middle powers is typically analysed through the lens of mainstream approaches in International Relations, such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism. In fact, the analysis in this thesis confirms several findings and conclusions of other literature that mobilise these frameworks. However, as I have argued in the introductory chapter, the complexity of the interactions between domestic and international levels, the importance of historical experience, as well as the different audiences at regional and global levels emphasise the need to find a theoretical approach that can provide a more nuanced understanding of these dynamics.

In embarking on such an endeavour, I have developed a theoretical framework within the literature of role theory. As argued elsewhere,⁵⁷⁶ the promise to bridge the gap between agency and structure, as well as its ability to incorporate both ideational and

⁵⁷⁶ Breuning, "Role Theory Research in International Relations"; Thies and Breuning, "Integrating Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations through Role Theory"; Cantir and Kaarbo, "Unpacking Ego in Role Theory: Vertical and Horizontal Role Contestation and Foreign Policy"; Barnett, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder."

material factors in explaining state behaviour, make role theory a starting point for students of IR to synthesise other mid-range approaches.

As I have laid out in the theoretical chapter and substantiated in the subsequent empirical analysis of this thesis, the synthesis of a number of mid-range theories such as ontological security and state transformation approaches can fill in the theoretical shortcomings of role theory. Throughout this thesis, I have developed a novel understanding to the question within role theory concerning the change and the continuity in role conception, through insights provided by the ontological security literature. I argue that the need for the state to sustain its biographical narrative plays an important role in the change and continuity of states' role conceptions. Furthermore, I have answered the call to unpack the concept of the state within role theory literature by engaging with the state transformation approach. Here I argue that the condition of transformation has created an ambivalent enactment of states' role conceptions. I have also directed the research agenda in role theory towards problematising international audiences; I argue for attention to be paid to the regional-global nexus and how it affects states in enacting their role conceptions. Thus, my theoretical approach builds upon three propositions: first, the notion of biographical narrative, which is central in the change and continuity of role conceptions; second, the effect of state transformation on the enactment of role conceptions; and third, the fact that role conceptions can be enacted differently at different levels by the state. The discussion of these propositions enabled me to refine the concept of role conflict and develop the notion of role legitimisation.

This thesis studied how role theory provides a powerful explanation for Indonesia's behaviour at regional and global levels. Drawing on interviews with forty research participants, ranging from Indonesian government officials, parliamentarians, and other foreign policy actors, as well as an analysis of key documents, this thesis identified four main national role conceptions that were conceptualised and enacted by the Yudhoyono administration. These overarching roles are a voice for developing countries, a regional leader, an advocate of democratic and human rights norms, and a bridge-builder. These four role conceptions are set against the backdrop of significant changes in the domestic political environment as well as the international system, which gave Indonesian foreign policymakers an opportunity to reconstruct Indonesia's

role in the regional and global order. However, these roles are by no means stable given that they are constantly being negotiated and contested.

Indonesia's regional and global engagement can be seen as a case study, allowing us to conceptualise and substantiate the theoretical framework. The country has contrasting experience as an active post-colonial state challenging the existing US-led global order, while also a regional power aiming to keep revolutionary ideas at bay. Also, for most of its existence, Indonesia has been authoritarian, despite currently being a democratic state that aspires to actively promote democracy and human rights. While it is a fascinating state to study, it is also a typical developing country from the Global South, and is currently showing a greater engagement at the regional and global levels. This might enable the theoretical framework developed in this thesis to provide insights to the studies of other emerging middle powers.

After this brief reflection of the main argument, this chapter concludes our journey with three final discussions. First, I provide an overview of the similarities and differences in four cases to discuss how the role theory approach provides us with a framework to understand contradictory and contested Indonesian foreign policy. Second, I discuss in great detail how the conceptual framework helps us to understand the empirical findings, particularly the notions of role conflict and role legitimation. Third, I close by discussing the limitations of this study and avenues for future research, as well as my final reflections.

The pattern of Indonesia's regional and global engagement

The purpose of the thesis was to examine Indonesia's international role under the Yudhoyono administration at the regional and global level. I have substantiated this through four case studies of Indonesia's regional and global engagement on two different issues, namely democracy and human rights, and trade. The four empirical chapters have shown that the role conceptions enacted by Yudhoyono's administration had different dynamics in terms of their enactment at regional and global levels.

Comparing role enactment at regional and global levels

The analysis of Indonesia's role in human rights governance illustrates how the regional-global nexus affects the extent to which Indonesia enacts its role as an advocate of democracy and human rights. At the regional level, the role has been mobilised to reflect international expectations of Indonesia as a newly democratic state. Moreover, the role as an advocate of democracy has transcended into Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader, making ASEAN embrace democratic norms and create a more robust regional human rights mechanism. However, the challenges in enacting this at the regional level primarily come from the inter-role conflict with being a regional leader and a bridge-builder. Indonesia's role as a regional leader requires it not to be seen as a country that pushes its own agenda to other members of ASEAN. Hence, while it is able to some extent, Indonesia cannot push its agenda further in promoting democracy and human rights norms in ASEAN's institutional mechanisms.

Indonesia's enactment of the role of advocate of democracy at the regional level shows us several interesting points. First, the two roles are inextricably linked. In fact, its advocacy of the values of democracy and human rights at the regional level can be seen as the most successful substantiation of Indonesia's role as regional leader. Second, Indonesia's enactment of the role of advocate of democracy is operationalised through its bridge-builder role. This arguably may stem from Indonesia's lack of a definitive model of democracy that it tries to promote in the region. For Indonesian policymakers, advocating democracy and human rights is providing the conditions for democratic learning and socialisation among countries that have aspirations to democratisation or are undergoing the process. Hence, this fits with the state's role of bridge-builder.

At the global level, the role of advocate of democracy has not been fully enacted, particularly in regard to Indonesia's involvement in the UN Human Rights Council. Indeed, the role is feasible in terms of Indonesia's normative acceptance of human rights as well as its willingness to ratify human rights instruments. However, in the case of strengthening global human rights governance to protect human rights, Indonesia is seemingly constrained in further advocacy. The challenge to enacting such a role comes from the internationalisation of a domestic issue that threatens

Indonesia's territorial integrity because of the Papuan issue, as well as dealing with scrutiny from the international community in the historical case of East Timor.

In line with its growing role of advocate of democracy, the role of regional leader has been successfully enacted in the realm of regional human rights governance. In fact, Indonesia's regional leadership has been enhanced by being an advocate of democracy. At the global level, the enactment of the roles is evident in the Indonesian approach to issues in the Human Rights Council, where it prefers a regional solution to regional problems like human rights abuses.

The role of bridge-builder is heavily enacted both at the regional and global level. However, the tone and rhetoric that the state conveys is different at the regional and global levels. At the regional level, Indonesia's role as bridge-builder has been successful in establishing and maintaining the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF), which stresses the importance of equal, constructive dialogue, mutual respect and understanding, to enhance cooperation and promote democracy in the region. This initiative also provides Indonesia with a platform to further enact its leadership and its role as advocate of democracy in the region. At the global level, the enactment of the role of bridge-builder has been expressed through defending the abusive regime from criticism. Overall, the enactment of the role stems from both Indonesia's willingness to capitalise on international expectations while not triggering domestic contestation.

Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries has rarely been enacted at the regional level. Rather, this role is mainly enacted for audiences at the global level. In regard to global human rights governance, arguably, Indonesia seems to act as a voice for developing countries by challenging Western criticism towards developing countries' human rights conditions. While at the regional level, it seems that Indonesia has supported the order by emulating Western liberal norms through its role as advocate of democracy, Indonesia's attitude towards the Western global order is still ambivalent. Indeed, although it is still highly supportive of the liberal order, rhetorically it hopes for a rearrangement, just like other BRIC countries. This aspiration has caused Indonesia's stance to be considered softly revisionist.⁵⁷⁷ Given

⁵⁷⁷ Awidya Santikajaya, "Walking the Middle Path: The Characteristics of Indonesia's Rise," *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 71, no. 4 (December 1, 2016): 563–86.

the above analysis, we can summarise Indonesia's role enactments in regard to democracy and human rights issues as follows.

Table 8.1 Indonesia's roles in democracy and human rights issues

Overarching Role Conception	Indicator	Human Rights Issues	
		Regional	Global
Regional leader	Strengthening ASEAN institutions through Intellectual and norm entrepreneurial leadership	Enhanced through the enactment of the role of an advocate of democracy and human rights	Lead to Indonesia's preferring regional mechanism in dealing with human rights issues
Advocate of democracy and human rights	Institutionalising democratic and human rights norms within ASEAN	Framed as a reflection of Indonesia's democratic identity	Constrained due to historical experience and domestic concern related to the Papuan issue
Bridge-builder	Voicing its moderate views on the promotion of human rights Providing a condition for democratic learning and socialisation among aspiring democratic countries	Heavily enacted by stressing the importance of constructive dialogue, mutual respect and understanding to promote democracy.	Heavily enacted through defence of abusive regimes.
Voice for developing countries	Enhancing solidarity among developing countries	Rarely enacted at the regional level	Reflect Indonesia's soft-revisionist tendency towards the US-led liberal order

Source: Author

The dynamics of the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions can also be seen in regard to trade-related issues. Indonesia's transition to a democratic state was mobilised to create a new conceptualisation of Indonesia's position that is supportive

of trade liberalisation. However, Yudhoyono's attempt to enact the role through the auxiliary advocate of economic liberalisation never gained any support from domestic audiences, other than a small number of technocrats in the inner circle of his administration. In fact, while the role of advocate of democracy is the direct result of the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one, the role of advocate of liberalisation has been hindered precisely because of the democratisation process, in which Indonesia's domestic audience has become increasingly suspicious. This is because the liberalisation was widely blamed for the collapse of the Indonesian economy.

Thus, at the regional level, Indonesia is reluctant to lead the regional economic integration project as a part of the liberalisation agenda. However, given that the role of regional leader has been entrenched in Indonesia's biographical narrative, the technocratic elite and Indonesia's foreign establishment can legitimise Indonesia's support towards the regional economic integration project. This is done by framing involvement in regional economic integration as a part of Indonesia's role as a regional leader. However, in practice, the enactment takes the shape of reluctant support for the project.

Just like in the area of human rights governance, Indonesia's role as a voice for developing countries is the main feature of its role at the global level, although the role is mainly disregarded at the regional level. Indonesia's growing role as a voice for developing countries reflects its biographical narrative developed in the formative years of its independence. The re-enactment of the role as a voice for developing countries in the post-authoritarian period also echoes growing resentment over the liberalisation project, which is perceived as unfair towards developing countries.

Furthermore, at the global level, Indonesia is relatively more confident in enacting roles that have the potential to trigger domestic contestation. As elucidated in Chapter 7, this is the result of the co-optation of trade policy for the purposes of foreign policy, which allowed the Doha round negotiations, to become an arena for role-playing in which Indonesia's enactment of role conception was detached from its domestic trade policy. This is particularly true for Indonesia's role as a bridge-builder, which requires an international commitment that is not in line with its domestic trade policies. Indonesia's enactment of the bridge-builder role is an internalisation of alter

expectations. However, it may not relate significantly to the need to advance Indonesia's domestic economic interests.

Indonesia's role enactment at the WTO has been relatively uncontested. Indonesia remains able to enact its role as a voice for developing countries throughout its involvement in the DDA negotiations, as a coordinator of G33. This in line with its biographical narrative, of showing Third World solidarity. Its position as a coordinator of G33 allows Indonesia to enact the role of bridge-builder and its involvement in the G20 group of the world's major economies solidifies the role conception.

Thus, at the global level, Indonesia can enact the role of voice for developing countries while at the same time taking the role of bridge-builder without significant domestic contestation. This stems from views among domestic economic actors that do not emphasize the important aspects of the WTO as much as they focus on regional trade governance. Moreover, the enactment of role conceptions at the global level, which are relatively uncontested, is aided by the fact that commitments from being a bridge-builder are not necessarily translated into domestic trade policies. Given the above analysis, we can sum up the pattern of Indonesia's role enactments in regard to trade issues as follows.

Table 8.2 Indonesia's roles in the trade issues

Overarching Role Conception	Indicator	Trade Issues	
		Regional	Global
Regional Leader	Deepening cooperation among ASEAN members through intellectual and norm entrepreneurial leadership	Enacted through the support of regional integration project which is constrained by domestic contestation	The role is not enacted
Advocate of slow liberalisation	Voicing its standpoint on the need to reduce protectionism viewed as hindering free trade Advocating for slow sequencing liberalisation tied to stage of development.	This role has been contested from the beginning and then tightly linked to the role of regional leader	Tightly linked to the role as a bridge-builder
Bridge-builder	Promoting a mediation approach to bridge the sharp differences in positions in trade liberalisation negotiations	Part of geostrategic interest in putting ASEAN central in the evolving East Asia regional order	Requires Indonesia to make an international commitment that is not in line with its domestic trade policies
Voice for developing countries	Enhancing solidarity among developing countries	Mainly absent at the regional level	Part of Indonesia's biographical narrative

Source: Author

Implications for Indonesia's engagement in regional and global governance

In the above analysis, I discussed Indonesia's role enactments at the regional and global level. I showed that the regional-global nexus has an important effect on the enactment of Indonesia's role conceptions. There is a pattern to Indonesia's enactment of its role conceptions across two areas, namely human rights and trade issues. In these

two areas of investigation, we can see that there is a process of contestation in the enactment of the four overarching main role conceptions. Having discussed the patterns of Indonesia's enactment of its role conceptions, the next question is, what are the implications of this analysis for Indonesia's current engagement at regional and global levels?

First, Indonesia's engagement in strengthening democracy and human rights issues in ASEAN will always be constrained by the extent to which the government emphasises the need to enact the role of advocate in order to play a more significant role in the regional and global order. This is because it has not been a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative and its enactment should always be linked to its role as a regional leader. While Yudhoyono took some landmark initiatives, such as the Bali Democracy Forum, Joko Widodo has been relatively reticent to promote regional democracy. As explained by a close advisor of Widodo, Luhut Pandjaitan, Indonesia's regional leadership will be directed to help Widodo's vision of Indonesia as a global maritime fulcrum, in order to pursue status as an Indo-Pacific region middle power.⁵⁷⁸ This shows that Indonesia's role as an advocate for democracy and human rights is relatively subject to change due to the government's agenda.

Second, Indonesia's engagement in the global human rights mechanisms, particularly in the Human Rights Council is likely to continue its ambivalent approach in regard to strengthening and promoting human rights. Under Widodo's administration, the influence of alter expectations on Indonesia's role conceptions seems to have vanished. Three years into his presidency, his government has been under the spotlight, especially in the Human Rights Council. A number of countries have highlighted a large number of death penalty sentences in Indonesia. The UPR forum recommended Indonesia abolish or postpone the death penalty. However, this has been less than welcomed by the current Indonesian government, which is likely to refuse implementation.⁵⁷⁹ Kontras, an Indonesian human rights NGO, noted that 18 people

⁵⁷⁸ Luhut Pandjaitan B., "Indonesia Ready to Take on Bigger Role in Indo-Pacific," *The Straits Times*, February 15, 2018, <https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/indonesia-ready-to-take-on-bigger-role-in-indo-pacific>.

⁵⁷⁹ Ambaranie Nadia Kemala Movanita, "Komnas HAM: Eksekusi Mati Di Era Jokowi Lebih Banyak Daripada Era SBY," *Kompas.Com*, October 8, 2017,

have been executed during the three years of Widodo's government, compared to 21 during the ten years of Yudhoyono's government.⁵⁸⁰

Third, Indonesia's engagement in the AEC will continue to be legitimised through Indonesia's role conception as a regional leader. So far, Joko Widodo's economic team has subscribed to the need to be an active player in the AEC. Despite Indonesia's support even under Widodo's administration, due to different agencies pursuing their own policies which may not be in line with Indonesia's support towards the AEC, rhetoric as a regional leader continues to be vague. This is because contestation over the importance of norms between neoliberal technocrats and protectionist domestic economic actors dominates the contestation over how Indonesia should enact its role conception in the realm of regional trade governance. In the case of RCEP, since its ASEAN Chairmanship in 2018, Singapore has taken the role in leading the 10 ASEAN members, pledging to conclude the RCEP trade talks by the end of 2018.⁵⁸¹

Fourth, Indonesia's engagement in the WTO remains characterised by its rhetoric of enhancing trade liberalisation and will remain a venue for enacting its role conceptions as a bridge-builder and voice for developing countries. There have been efforts to reduce the rhetoric-performance gap during Widodo's administration through his economic policies, which focus on a deregulation programme. The deregulation programme is evident in the issuance of eleven economic packages to make sure that Indonesia's economic and trade policies are in line with the liberalisation agenda. Through these packages, Widodo's government is committed to reducing regulations and simplifying bureaucracy in order to improve industrial competitiveness. This can be seen in the cancellation of more than 3,140 regional regulations that hampered trade. In the last meeting between President Widodo and the Director General of WTO, Roberto Azevedo in April 2016, Widodo reiterated Indonesia's deregulation programmes and its commitment to trade liberalisation. Indonesia's continued

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/10/08/20283771/komnas-ham-eksekusi-mati-di-era-jokowi-lebih-banyak-daripada-era-sby>.

⁵⁸⁰ Kristian Erdianto, "Penerapan Hukuman Mati Dinilai Memburuk Di Era Presiden Jokowi," *Kompas.Com*, April 27, 2017,

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/04/27/12412361/penerapan.hukuman.mati.dinilai.memburuk.di.era.president.jokowi>.

⁵⁸¹ Charissa Yong, "Singapore Will Do All It Can to Push RCEP Negotiations Forward as Asean Chair: PM Lee," *The Straits Times*, November 14, 2017, <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/singapore-will-do-all-it-can-to-push-rcep-negotiations-forward-as-asean-chair-pm-lee>.

enactment of the role of bridge-builder and a voice for developing countries can be summed up by the statement from the then Indonesian Trade Minister, Thomas Lembong, in the press conference after the meeting of Widodo and Azevedo:

The position of Indonesia is quite special (in the WTO) because we are a big but not a giant economic country, being a member of G20 but still a developing country. So, we fit right in the middle, between a big country and a small country, a rich country and a developing country. So, we can talk to all. And of course, we are asked to play a positive and reconstructive role in the WTO in the future.⁵⁸²

Role theory, state transformation, and biographical narrative

The previous section discussed the patterns of Indonesia's regional and global engagement in two different areas. This section discusses how the theoretical framework, particularly the notion of role conflict and role legitimation developed in this thesis, informs our general understanding of states' behaviour in international politics.

Role conflict

As shown in the four empirical chapters above, Indonesia's role enactments are contested, creating a seemingly ambivalent foreign policy agenda. The conceptualisation of role conflict developed in this thesis allows the further scrutiny of Indonesia's enactment of its role conceptions. Chapter 2 established that role conflict can also occur due to the regional-global nexus and state transformation process. While the former conflict arises from the different expectations of the international audience, the latter comes from contestation within agencies of the state. In relation to the regional-global nexus, there are two types of role conflict; the first

⁵⁸² beritasatu.com, "WTO Apresiasi Peranan Indonesia dan Minta Ditingkatkan," beritasatu.com, April 13, 2016, <http://www.beritasatu.com/makro/359882-wto-apresiasi-peranan-indonesia-dan-minta-ditingkatkan.html>.

appears when one particular role manifests differently at the regional and global levels, while the second is when one particular role is highly performed, seemingly treated as a part of state identity, at one level but is contested and utterly disregarded at another.

The first type of role conflict leads to the rhetoric-performance gap, in which the role being enacted might be the same, but the performance might be different from one level with another and one realm with another. This type of conflict can be seen in Indonesia's bridge-builder role at regional and global levels. At the regional level, Indonesia's enactment is directed towards its shared democratic experiences with both democratic and non-democratic countries. The role of bridge builder is connected to the role as an advocate of democracy. However, at the global level, the role of bridge-builder is enacted in a way that shields the abusive regime from international scrutiny in the Council.

The second most compelling type of role conflict in Indonesia's case is its enactment of the role of advocate for democracy and human rights. At the regional level, this is seen as a manifestation of Indonesia's new identity as a democratic state. However, at the global level, the enactment of such a role is relatively absent. This can be traced back to Indonesia's historical experience with international scrutiny over its human rights conditions, as well as the fear of internationalising the separatist agenda of its Papuan Provinces through the UN human rights mechanism.

Role conflict can also result from state transformation. As already established in Chapter 2, in the case of undergoing this process, the state may be represented by the different transnational issues being discussed, such as security, trade, finance, the environment, and development aid, as well as at the regional and global levels. While there might be coordination among a wide range of state apparatuses, in practice, the roles taken by particular agencies may not be in line with the role conception enacted by foreign policymakers.

The case of Indonesia's engagement in trade issues illustrates the impact of state transformation on the enactment of role conceptions. At the regional level, Indonesia's trade policy, which is supportive of regional integration projects, has been contested by other state agencies that have the same domestic objectives and who perceive the project as detrimental due to their low competitiveness. At the global level,

Indonesia's enactment of the role of a voice for developing countries serves its domestic economic actors' interests and is in line with Indonesia's historical narrative. However, its increasing enactment of the role of bridge-builder deviates from its increasingly protectionist domestic trade policies.

This thesis further introduced the typology of the degree of domestic-driven role conflict as outlined in Chapter 2 in order to understand the different outcomes of role conflict. The first stage is when each agency enacts and devises particular roles in their respective arenas. The outcome is a contradictory standpoint held by the state, which may be difficult to interpret for international and domestic audiences. The second stage is when roles are crafted by one agency while others resist by rejecting the enactment. The outcome of the second stage of role conflict is a vague conceptualisation of roles. The third stage is when roles are crafted and mainly enacted by one agency while the other agencies follow with some caveats. The result of the third stage of role conflict is a rhetoric-performance gap between commitments made at the international level and the policy taken at the domestic level.

The case of Indonesia's role enactment in regard to regional trade governance can elucidate our understanding of the stages of role conflict. At the regional level, we can observe the second stage of conflict in Indonesia's enactment of the role of regional leader. Support of trade liberalisation has been hindered by domestic contestation from other relevant agencies. In our analysis, the role has been crafted by one agency while the others have resisted by rejecting the role enactment. Although so far Indonesia has, to some extent, supported the regional integration project through the AEC and RCEP, many of its agencies are still resisting such projects. Hence, Indonesia's conceptualisation of the role of regional leader remains ambivalent in the realm of trade governance. At the global level, we observe the third stage of role conflict in regard to Indonesia's as a bridge-builder. Given that Indonesia's stance and position in the WTO arguably follows the role conceptualised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the enactment creates a rhetoric-performance gap between commitments made at the international level and the policy taken at the domestic level.

Role legitimization

In my analysis on Indonesia, sustaining a biographical narrative is the impetus for policymakers legitimising the enactment of roles. Through the discussion of the evolution of Indonesia's role conceptions, I have shown that roles are a constitutive part of identity formation, but they can also be a strategic instrument in maintaining a coherent biographical narrative. Thus, role conceptions are crafted and enacted in a way that reflects the continuity of the state's biographical narrative to both international and domestic audiences. The discussion also relates to my conceptualisation of role legitimization, to understand how governments resolve potential role contestation from domestic audiences. As suggested in Chapter 2, role legitimization can be performed through two social mechanisms: reframing the historical role from a specific period and reproducing the alter expectation in domestic political discourse.

Indonesia's enactment of the role as an advocate of democracy and human rights is a case in point in regard to the importance of the concept of role legitimization. As argued in Chapter 3, the role conception can be interpreted as a response to alter expectations of Indonesia's democratic transition in the post-authoritarian period. However, this is a recent role conception that is not yet a part of Indonesia's biographical narrative. In order to sustain the enactment of such a role, Indonesian foreign policymakers aim to link the enactment to the role as a regional leader. Furthermore, the enactment of such a role is not a threat to the country's core interest and is relatively free from domestic contestation. However, the enactment of a similar role has been relatively absent at the global level. This can be interpreted as a lack of ability to legitimise the role through the role legitimization process. In fact, as was widely discussed in Chapter 5, the enactment of the role of advocate of democracy and human rights is not in line with Indonesia's biographical narrative as a part of developing countries and a regional leader. Indonesia's enactment of the role is hardly linked to these two historical role conceptions. Thus, this leads to Indonesian policymakers' preference for the role of bridge-builder.

The notion of role legitimization is also helpful in understanding Indonesia's role conceptions in regard to trade issues. Despite the economic technocrats under Yudhoyono's presidency being in favour of Indonesia's increasing support for trade

liberalisation, given its increasing anti-economic liberalisation, Indonesian policymakers have been able to continue to support the regional integration project in the form of the AEC and RCEP. Arguably, Indonesia's support for the regional integration project is also framed as a part of the enactment of the role of regional leader.

Limitations and future research agenda

Overall, this thesis has made substantive contributions to two different strands of the literature, namely role theory and Indonesian foreign policy. Having acknowledged these contributions, the rest of this conclusion seeks to highlight several routes forward by identifying limitations and suggesting future research in several fields of International Relations, foreign policy analysis in particular. The first and most obvious limitation of this thesis is empirical. Due to its single case study, this thesis could not establish the generalizability of the framework. I hope that further research can be conducted so that we would be able to see the extent to which the theoretical framework fits with another case study especially other non-Western emerging middle powers. Further comparative research on the behaviour of non-Western middle power through the lens of role theory might provide us with insights on varieties of roles enacted by them at regional and global levels.

In this thesis, I have introduced a role theory approach to the study of an emerging middle power. Given its mid-range theorisation, role theory could be introduced to other literature in IR. For instance, the literature on institutional balancing in IR benefitted from role theory through the recent work of an institutional balancing theorist.⁵⁸³ Role theory could enhance debates in the growing body of literature on practice theory and relational theory.⁵⁸⁴ Relational theory assumes that social relations produce and reproduce actors' identities, define and redefine their roles.⁵⁸⁵ Thus,

⁵⁸³ Kai He, "Role Conceptions, Order Transition and Institutional Balancing in the Asia-Pacific: A New Theoretical Framework," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 0, no. 0 (March 1, 2018): 1–18.

⁵⁸⁴ David M. McCourt, "Practice Theory and Relationalism as the New Constructivism," *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (September 1, 2016): 475–85.

⁵⁸⁵ Yaqing Qin, "A Relational Theory of World Politics," *International Studies Review* 18, no. 1 (March 1, 2016): 33–47.

studies on bilateral relations utilising relational theory, such as US-Iran relations or Saudi Arabia-Iran relations, could benefit from a synthesis of role theory and relational theory. Role theory could also be mobilised to enhance our theoretical exploration of the micro-processes of diplomacy in international relations. A growing body of literature in IR is devoted to the role of emotion in understanding state behaviour in international politics.⁵⁸⁶ Synthesising this and role theory literature could be a fruitful endeavour on how emotions are translated into policy process at the group level.⁵⁸⁷

Further research on dynamic interactions of the states in international organisations and negotiations could also benefit from the application of role theory. As suggested in my analysis of Indonesia's role in the WTO, international organisations can be seen as an arena for role-playing. However, this thesis does not further scrutinise the notion. This could be a new lacuna that role theory could contribute to. Thus, further conceptualisation of international organisations as an arena for role-playing could provide us with a more nuanced understanding of how international organisations shape the behaviour of states and *vice versa*. For instance, with non-Western powers establishing more and more international organisations,⁵⁸⁸ the incorporation of organisational role theory would arguably unpack the process of the institution-building of new international organisations.

As a final note, I want to reflect on my thesis as a direct answer to the call for IR scholars to embrace non-Western ideas and concepts, those that reflect the voices, experiences, knowledge claims, and contributions of the vast majority of the societies and states of the world.⁵⁸⁹ Through this thesis, I have contributed to making Indonesia a site for theorisation in IR, in particular to develop concepts such as role contestation and role legitimisation. The study of the Indonesian experience allows us to open up a new insight into IR and foreign policy analysis, which is currently based on the great

⁵⁸⁶ Todd H. Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).

⁵⁸⁷ Brent E. Sasley, "Theorizing States' Emotions," *International Studies Review* 13, no. 3 (2011): 452–76.

⁵⁸⁸ Xiao Ren, "China as an Institution-Builder: The Case of the AIIB," *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 3 (May 26, 2016): 435–42.

⁵⁸⁹ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, "Why Is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7, no. 3 (September 1, 2007): 287–312, <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcm012>; Amitav Acharya, "Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds," *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 647–59, <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12171>.

and major powers' behaviour. With growing numbers of non-Western powers on the international stage, it is my hope that I have contributed to specific literature in IR in ways that will advance the endeavour to give a greater voice to the non-Western world in the theorisation of IR.

However, arguably, much of my contribution in this thesis still draws on Western theorisation, albeit infused with insights from the Indonesian experience. Despite this limitation, my research contributes by developing a proposition and premise that builds on cases from the Global South. Thus, this thesis does not mean to invalidate the abstraction and theorisation of particular concepts in role theory based on the Western experience but provides a new voice and alternative way in which the theory might work. I hope that this work will provide a stepping stone for IR research that aims to further theorise state behaviour from the experience of states from the Global South.

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Appendix: List of interviews (in chronological order)

Interviewee number	Interviewee label	Interviewee's Institution	Interview date
1	Senior official	Agency for Policy Review and Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	12-Jul-15
2	Official	Agency for Policy Review and Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	12-Jul-15
3	Senior official	Directorate of Trade of Industry, Investment and Intellectual Property Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	14-Jul-15
4	Senior official	Directorate of Human Rights and Humanitarian issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	15-Jul-15
5	Senior advisor	Human Rights Working Groups (HRWG)	16-Jul-15
6	Member of Parliament, 2009-2014	House of Representatives Republic of Indonesia,	03-Aug-15
7	Official	Directorate of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10-Aug-15
8	Indonesian diplomat	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10-Aug-15
9	Former senior Indonesian diplomat	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	11-Aug-15
10	Official	Directorate of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	12-Aug-15
11	Senior researcher	the Habibie Center	24-Aug-15
12	Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, 2009-2011	House of Representatives Republic of Indonesia,	24-Aug-15
13	Senior Indonesian diplomat	Indonesian Embassy in the UK	17-Mar-16

Interviewee number	Interviewee label	Interviewee's Institution	Interview date
14	Senior Indonesian diplomat	Indonesian Embassy in the UK	17-Mar-16
15	Indonesian diplomat	Indonesian Embassy in the UK	19-Apr-16
16	Official	Directorate of trade, commodities, and intellectual property	17-Jul-16
17	Democracy Activist	International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID)	20-Jul-16
18	Indonesian activist	Institute for Global Justice (IGJ)	21-Jul-16
19	Indonesian scholar	BINUS University	22-Jul-16
20	Official	Directorate of Development, Economy and Environment, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	04-Aug-16
21	Official	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	05-Aug-16
22	Senior official	Directorate of Socio-Culture and international organizations of developing countries, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	18-Aug-16
23	Diplomat	Singaporean Embassy in Jakarta	22-Aug-16
24	Former official	Office of the Special Staff on International Affairs for the President of the Republic of Indonesia	26-Aug-16
25	Former Indonesian trade attaché to Canada	Ministry of Trade	12-Sep-16
26	Ambassador	Vietnamese Embassy in Jakarta	15-Sep-16
27	Senior official	Director General of International Trade Cooperation, Ministry of Trade	16-Sep-16
28	Former ministry of trade	Ministry of Trade	16-Sep-16
29	Senior official	Directorate General, International Trade	16-Sep-16

Interviewee number	Interviewee label	Interviewee's Institution	Interview date
		Cooperation, Ministry of Trade	
30	Senior official	Directorate Multilateral Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	19-Sep-16
31	Senior official	Directorate Multilateral Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	19-Sep-16
32	Senior official	Directorate Multilateral Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	19-Sep-16
33	Official	Directorate Multilateral Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	19-Sep-16
34	Former Indonesian trade attaché to Peoples' Republic of China	Ministry of Trade	19-Sep-16
35	Senior official	Directorate ASEAN Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	20-Sep-16
36	Senior official	Directorate ASEAN Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	20-Sep-16
37	Official	Directorate ASEAN Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	20-Sep-16
38	Indonesian negotiator at RCEP	Directorate ASEAN Negotiation, Ministry of Trade	20-Sep-16
39	Former commissioner	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights AIHCR	15-Aug-17
40	Former senior diplomat	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	24-Aug-17